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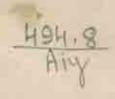
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R. SWAMINATHA AIYAR

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स्वादित संस्था पुर्व 8 स्वतंत्र के स्वतंत्र के स्वतंत्र संस्था पुरातत्व प्रतकालव

A NOTE ON THE BOOK

This book has a long and chequered history. It began as a trickle of talks by the author to a small audience, under the auspices of the South Indian Teachers' Union, over fifty years ago. Only Tamil scholars, and those with a background of English education and general knowledge, such as teachers, could be expected to be interested in those days. No more than a few dozen people attended the talks. An abridged report was published in the Madras Tamil daily "Swadesamitran".

The Tamilian Education Society, Madras, (founded in 1917 by a few enthusiasts under distinguished guidance, which had for its main object "the propagation of modern scientific knowledge among the Tamil masses through the medium of Tamil") felt that a wider publicity for the lectures among the teachers and the educated public would provide useful results. At its request, Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar wrote down his thesis a little more fully, after careful consideration of possible criticisms. This was published serially in 1922-23 as supplements to THE TAMILIANS' FRIEND (Tamilar Nesay), the Tamil Journal of the Society, and attracted rather more attention.

Since Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar's theories covered not merely the Tamil language, but also the other languages of the Dravidian group, he followed up his thesis, which was published by him in Tamil first, by writing a number of articles in English to some journals, particularly in the Andhra area, and he read too a number of learned papers at several conferences of scholars in Madras, Poona (1919), and elsewhere. He delivered a series of lectures on the Philology of the Dravidian languages in the capacity of a Special Reader of the Calcutta University. These lectures are referred to by the author in Appendix H-A (p. 552). They attracted the attention of a few scholars in those areas and elsewhere. Linguistics had not yet become an object of wide study. It was true that Dr. Caldwell and a few others had put forward their views. Some accepted them wholesale, while others were too little inclined to investigate such an abstruse matter. Mohenjo-Daro had not been discovered, and nothing was known of the Indus Valley civilization and of the language and script of the seals discovered there.

During all this period, Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar was gathering more and more material, much of which confirmed him in his theories, and some of which suggested that certain ideas, which had been put forward by him, perhaps needed revision. So he decided to write them out more fully and elaborately, and to publish them in the form of a book. His attitude was one of detachment in his conclusions, but one of close attachment to truth in his selection and presentation of data. He had his manuscript material typed with discritical marks, explanations, quotations, and indications of the authorities which he had referred to, either to agree with or to differ from. He gave it to the Madras Law Journal Press for printing. But the author died before the printing was completed.

The problem was what to do next. The material had been examined by some scholars like Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri and others, who decided that the book should be completed. Dr. Chintamani, one of the Professor's pupils, was assigned the work of going through the manuscript and the proofs. Dr. Chintamani too did not live to complete the work; Professor Kuppuswami Sastri had died earlier. For a long time, the printed material lay almost neglected in the premises of the Madras Law Journal Press, and in course of time the paper perished and could no longer be bound and issued as a book.

Ultimately some eminent personages were willing to sponsor the publication. The Madras Law Journal Press was willing to do the laborious and extremely difficult work of printing the work over again, though almost all those who had something to do with the work in the previous attempt were no longer there, owing to death or superannuation; and the Press wrote to the present writer in 1968 asking him to help with the proofs. But the difficulties connected with printing-proof-reading, correcting, and checking-were almost insurmountable. There were hardly any with a scholarship approaching that of the learned author in its range or depth in so many languages and dialects of the country. It extended from Vedic Sanskrit to Classical Sanskrit, and to the various Sanskrit-based dialects of North India, and also to the early classical, later classical, and dialectal forms of the various Dravidian languages of the South. However, the sponsors were so convinced of the utility, at least as a jumping-off ground or basic point, of the pioneering work of Swaminatha Aivar (pioneering because he disagreed with Dr. Caldwell and propounded other theories) that they persisted with the work. The Press had printed twentyone formes, when again the work got bogged down and had to be re-started after a time. It has now been completed, though some material is missing.

On behalf of those who corrected the proofs, the writer of the present note submits that they did their best, but that their best fell far short of legitimate expectations. There are a number of mistakes in proof-reading, numbering etc. They hope that the scholars who go through this work will help to correct at least some of the mistakes and inaccuracies that may have been unwittingly allowed to creep in, and be good enough to intimate them to the publishers.

Apart from such inaccuracies, the major conclusions of the author may not find ready acceptance at the hands of those who are convinced of the truth of the influential theories that he assails. This is natural, and there would be nothing wrong if his views were criticised, provided the criticism was done dispassionately in the interests of truth. With regard to the deciphering of the Mohenjo-Daro seals, for example, there has been a long and lively controversy in our time, and there seems little prospect of its terminating decisively in favour of any particular solution. Nevertheless, no one regrets the controversy, as it is bound to further the truth in the long run.

Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar's work is placed before the public as a pioneering contribution to a field of study in which there have been too few workers. Whatever be the absolute value of his work, all earnest workers will salute his memory as that of a painstaking scholar who laboured long over it with single-minded devotion, more than fifty years ago, in the cause of linguistic science. His labours should help promote national integration, by showing how, over two or three millenia ago, people living in different parts of India lived in linguistic amity taking freely from neighbouring languages and thereby enriching their own.

What Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar has so generously and warmly said of Dr. Caldwell's book, namely, "This book is a storehouse of information on everything Dravidian, and bears evidence, on every page of it, to the immense learning of the author, his indefatigable research, his genius for analysis, and his familiarity with the grammars of almost all the languages of the world", will apply equally well to his own book.

Maharajanagar Tirunelveli-11

P. N. Appuswami





SRI R. SWAMINATHA AIYAR

A NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar was one of the galaxy of brilliant men who were born and bred in the Tanjore District in the nineteenth century. He belonged to a generation which produced several giants of learning, who were as versatile as they were profound, and whose moral stature matched their intellectual greatness.

He was a contemporary of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar (and therefore of Sri V. Krishnaswami Aiyar as well), and continued as his close associate and friend, with mutual respect and admiration. Both were crudite, soft-spoken, and believed in an extraordinary degree in integrity, and hard and sustained work; and they practised their beliefs throughout their lives, respecting themselves as much as they did others.

Like so many other great men of those days, Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar also commenced his life as a school master in the Districts, serving as such from 1880 to 1884. In 1885, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics in Presidency College, Madras, and served in that capacity, till 1888. In 1889, he entered the Revenue Department, and served as a Head Clerk, till 1892. In 1893, he became a Senior Assistant in the Board of Revenue, and held that post, till 1894. In 1895, he became Registrar of the Revenue Department in the Board of Revenue. In 1896, he returned to the profession of teaching, and was appointed Professor of Mathematics in Presidency College, a post which Mr. C. H. Stuart had held before him. In 1897 he was appointed as "Famine Assistant", again in the Revenue

Department. He seems to have also held the appointment of Tamil Translator to the Government of Madras.

In 1910 and later, he served as Treasury Deputy Collector, and as Administrative Deputy Collector in various districts of what was the Madras Presidency. He served in the Telugu areas, in Godavari, Kakinada, Jammalmadugu, and other places, and in the Tamil Districts of Coimbatore, and Tirunelveli.

His intellectual qualities and his cultural background made him interested in the physical and moral well-being of the community, looking upon himself, as he did, as its servant. He moved with the people closely, and ascertained at first hand their needs and requirements of everyday life. Because of his proficiency in their language and dialects, he was also interested in their cultural and linguistic activities. Because of this, he was also able to perceive and understand the nuances of language and dialect in an extraordinary degree. The knowledge he had cultivated of Vedic Sanskrit and of Classical Sanskrit, from his boyhood, at a time when such knowledge was more prevalent and valued, was of great help in preparing his mind for linguistic study. So too his knowledge of the Classic Tamil of the Sangham and later periods helped him in his study of the dialects of the Tamil country.

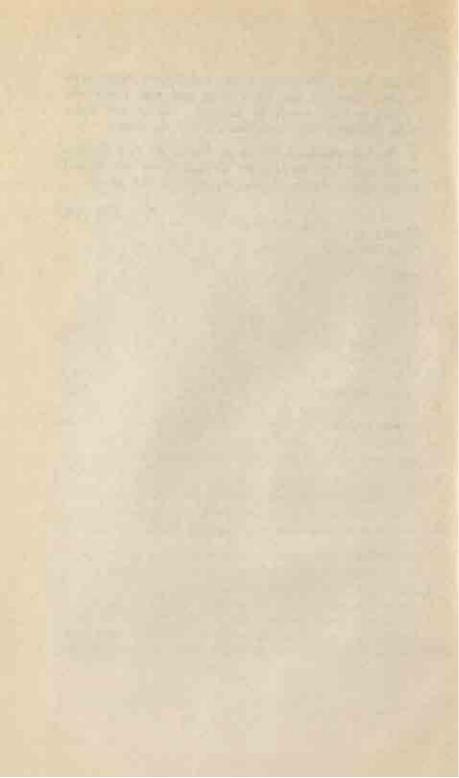
Thus, by birth, early training, bent of mind, and the opportunities provided by his occupation, he became eminently fitted for the work he dedicated himself to later on in life.

Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar was a linguist, administrator, mathematician, grammarian, educator, scholar, orientalist, and polymath, a versatile genius. The writer of this note used to marvel at his phenomenal knowledge, memory, powers of analysis, marshalling and synthesis, faculties which he was able to draw up n easily and almost apontaneously. It never occurred to this writer then te-

ask him how he had learnt so much and so well, what books he used, where he got them from, and what were the methods which he used to arrange, analyse and index them, in order to draw upon them and to use them.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar was profound, yet very likeable, widely and deeply learned, yet disciplined and modest; and with a scholar's sense of humour, yet mild and gentle.

31-3-75 Maharajanagar Tirunelveli-11 P. N. Appunvami



DEDIGATION

To

All lovers of the languages

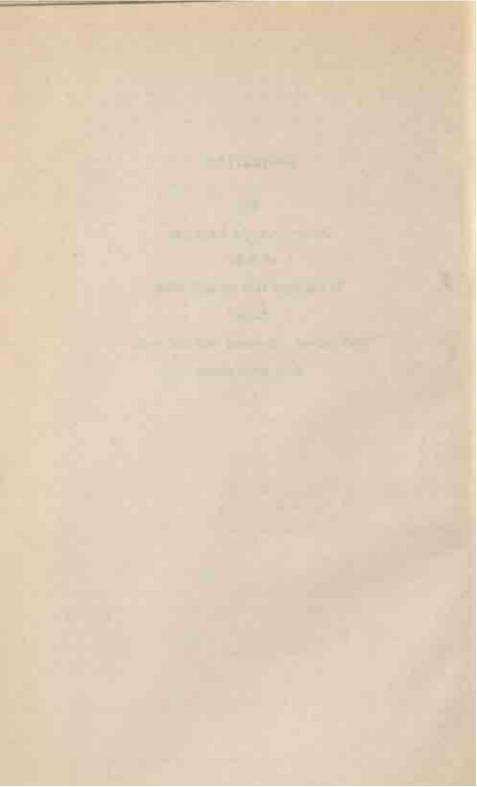
of India

In the hope that through them

India

Will become integrated well and truly

As a great nation



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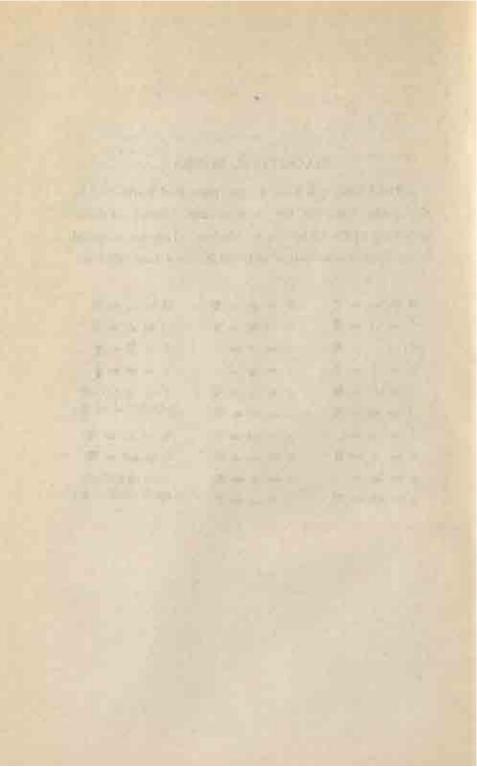
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DIACRITICAL MARKS

The following is a list of the diacritical marks used in this book, following the style of the 'Tamil Lexicon' published by the University of Madras. They are arranged in the English alphabetical order to facilitate easy reference.

$d==\overline{\mathfrak{q}}$	ñ = 😇 = 🕱	th = = ₹
$\dot{q} = = g$	$\dot{n} = m = 3$	th = = 5
dh = = 4	$r = \sigma = \xi$	i = @ = §
$dh = \dots = g$	I = p =	1 = # = \$
$1 = \infty = \mathfrak{S}$	1 = = %	ī = குற்றியல் இக்ரம் (halfof இ)
$\frac{1}{1} = \epsilon \pi = 32$	ś = ≠ = ₹	இக்ரம் (halfof இ)
$1 = \mu =$	5 = ap = 4	n = v = 2
n = 15 = 7	S = ₩ = Ħ	ū = 222 = 35
$\bar{u} = \omega = \dots$	$t = \beta = \overline{d}$	ப் = குற்றியல் உரைம் (halfof உ)
ù = em = d	t = L = 2	espo (halfol e)



CONTRACTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Note: The numbers refer to pages

A. . Aranyaka

A.H.I. .. Ancient and Hindu India by V. A. Smith

Aham .. Akananuru

A.G. .. Avestan Grammar by Kanga

A.S. .. Anglo-Saxon B. Bengali

B.A.G. .. A Grammar of the Aryan Vernaculars of India by John Beames, 26, 27, 45, 197,

219, 498, 503, 511, 512, 517, 520, 534

Brug. .. Brugmann, 106

C.D.G. . . Comparative Grammar of Dravidian

Languages by Caldwell

C.I. .. Census of India

Col. .. Sollatikāram

Coll. .. Colloquial (Speech)

Cilap. .. Śilappatikāram

Du. .. Dutch D.P.G. .. 454

E.I. .. Epigraphia India, 181, 257, 261, 315, 394,

509

Ep. Ind.

G. .. Gauda

G.M.G. .. Gundert's Malayalam Grammar, 379

Ger. . . German H. . Hindi

H.G.G. .. Grammar of the Gaudiya Language (Hoernle) 29, \$5, 251, 234, 448, 451, 455, 509, 512, 517, 518, 523, 527, 534

I.A. .. Indian Antiquary
Ind. Ant. .. Indian Antiquary

I.S.

Icel. .. Icelandic J.A.V.S. 233

J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 81,

J.A.V. 172 452

K. .. Kannada (Kanarese)

K.A. .. Kanga's Avestan Grammar (Vocabulary)

K.A.G. , Kanga's Avestic Grammar, 73, 152, 173, 174, 175, 183, 485, 494, 533

KAG .. Kanga's Avestan Grammar, 177, 183 452
 K.K.G. .. Kanada Grammar by Kittel, 152, 264-396, 397, 399, 425, 438

33

Kan. .. " " " " " " " " "

K.A.V.

Kural .. Tiru-k-Kural

L.S. .. Linguistic Survey of India

Lith, .. Lithuanian
M. .. Malayalam
Ma. .. Malayalam
Mal.

M.V.G. , Macdonnel's Vedic Grammar, 179, 180, 192, 481, 483, 494, 533

O. .. Oriva

P.P.G.S. .. Präkṛt Grammar, Pischel, 117, 149, 178 P.P.G. .. Pāli Grammar, 155, 177, 183, 497, 514

Pr. . Präkrt Prak. . . .

Paisi, Lang. .. Paisici Language Pattu. .. Pattu-p-pāṭṭu

CONTRACTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Puram .. Puranāņūru S. .. Sanskrit

S.I.I. .. South Indian Inscriptions

Skt. .. Sanskrit Swed. .. Swedish T. .. Tamil Tam. .. Tamil

T.A.S. .. Travancore Archaeological Series, 28, 266, 272

T.A. Taittiriya Āraņyaka, 225

T.B. .. Taittirīya Brāhmaņa, 226, 227

Tel. .. Telugu
Tol. .. Tolkäppiyam

T.S. .. Taittiriya Samhita, 87

T.S.I. .. 226

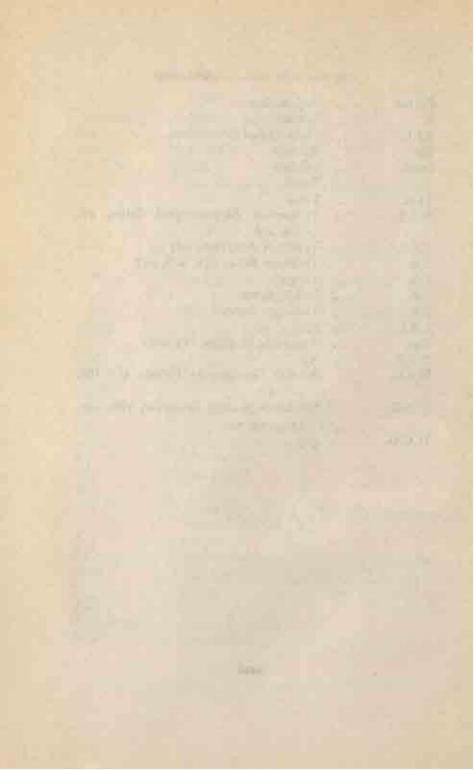
Var. .. Vararuchi (Prākṛta Prākāśa)

V.F.J. .. 343

W.S.G. .. Sanskrit Grammar by Whitney, 172, 192,...

W.S.G. .. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, 180, 192, 452, 294, 533

W.G.G. .. 519



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ĀRŞA PRĀKRIT
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ASSAMESE
AUSTRIC FAMILY
AUSTRO-ASIATIC GROUP
AVESTIC

Between miles of a natural

BALTO-SLAVONIC
BAORI
BADAGA (OLD KANARESE), (KUINJU)
BENGALI
BERADI
BHILL—DHAR STATE, KANDESH, NAHIKANTHA,
NIMAR, RAJ-J-A

BIHARI BRAHOI BUNDELI BURGANDI

C

(B) ATTO TO SEE A SEE

(18-15W - 18-15) Jane 1

CELTIC CHATTISGARHI

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D

DĀRDIC DĀSARI DRĀVIDA BHĀŞA DRĀVIDIAN (GROUP) DUTCH

E

FINNISH

G

GAUDA (NORTH), (SOUTH)
GAWAR BATI
GERMAN
GHISADI
GÖLARI
GÖNDI, GÖNDI, (MADRAS)
GOTHIC
GREEK
GUJARATI (GUZERATI)

H

HALABI HEBREW HINDI (EAST-WEST) HÖLIYA

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Ē

ICELANDIC

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INDO-EUROPEAN (GROUP)

INDO-GERMANIC

IRANIAN

K

KAIKADI (DIALECT)

KALAMI

KALASA

KAMATHI

KÄNARESE (MODERN), (OLD)

KANNADA (KANARESE)

KANDH

KODAGU

KOLAMI

KOMTAU

KORA

KORAVA

KŌŢA

KUI

KUMAUNI

KURUKH

KURUMVARI

L

LAHNDA LATIN

LITHUANIAN

M

CONTRACTOR OF THE STATE OF THE

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MAGADHI MAHARAŞTRI MAIPATI MALAYALAM MALTI MALTO MARATHI MARWARI MON-KHMER MUŅDĀ MUSSALMANI

N

NAIKADI NEPALI (NAIPALI) NEWARI NORTH GAUDA N.W. LANGUAGE

0

-ORIYA

P

PR. (Prakrit)
PAHĀRI
PAHLAVI
PAIŠĀCI
PAIŠĀCHA (LANGUAGES)
PALI (LITERARY)
PĀNCĀLI
PANJĀBI
PASAI
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PRO-VEDIG

R

RAJASTHANI RAMBANI

S

SANSKRIT SAURASENJ SCYTHIAN (GROUP) SCYTHIAN SCYTHIC—TURANIAN SEMITIC (GROUP) SINDHI SINGHALESE SLAVONIC (OLD) SWEDISH

T

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- (ii) Jannar
- (iii) Kondividu
- (iv) Kuda

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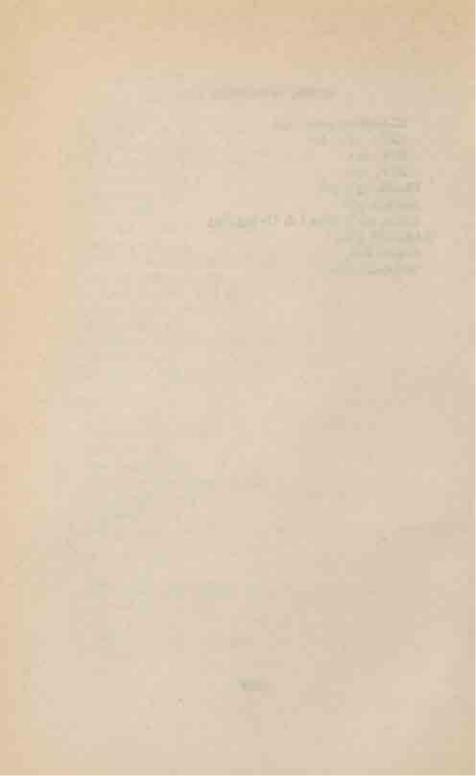
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CHAPTER 1

DRAVIDIAN THEORIES

 THE POSITION OF INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

THE chief languages of India are grouped under four main heads, viz.,

- the Indo-European, comprising the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan branches;
- the Dravidian, including Brāhūī spoken in the Khante of Kelat;
- the Austro-Asiatic, comprising the Mon-Khmer and the Munda sub-families and
 - 4. the Tibeto-Chinese.

Of these the Tibeto-Chinese and the Mon-Khmer groups are spoken chiefly in the territories on the East and on the North-East, while the languages included in the Iranian branch are mostly confined to similar areas on the West. Excluding these and confining attention to India proper, that is, to the country known as India from the earliest times, the languages spoken therein may be grouped under three main heads, viz., 1. the Indo-Aryan, 2. the Dravidian and 3. the Munda; these have been in contact with one another from prehistoric times and may be expected to have greatly influenced one another. The speakers of the Munda group number about four millions roughly and are now to be found chiefly in the plateau of Chota-Nagpur and in the adjoining hills and jungles; they are all aboriginal people of low culture and

social status. The languages of this group are steadily being supplanted by Indo-Aryan forms of speech; the habitat of this group was once very much more extensive extending perhaps over the greater part of Northern India. The Indo-Aryan languages are spoken by about 230 millions of people inhabiting Northern and Western India and Deccan; these languages are traceable to the Vedic language through the Prakrts and the Apabhramsas which arose out of the corruption and the breaking up of the Vedic dialects-The Dravidian family comprises all the principal languagesof Southern India and the speakers thereof number about 64 millions, including the Brahuis and the small tribes speaking Dravidian dialects in the Central Provinces and Chota-Nagpur, and up the banks of the Ganges at Rājmahāl. The small Dravidian communities in the North and in Central. India, scattered like islets in a sea of Aryan population are, it is stated, being rapidly Hinduized and their language adopts an ever increasing Aryan element till it is quite superseded by Aryan speech. This process has been going on for centuries and is still going on. (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, p. 278.)

Kumārila Bhaţţa (7th Century A.D.) discusses in his Tantravārtika the meanings of certain Non-Aryan (mleccha) words which he says belongs to the Drāviḍa-bhāṣā. The phrase Drāviḍa-bhāṣā is taken by some Dravidian scholars to indicate a division of the Dravidian family of languages into two groups, Āndhra and Drāviḍa and following this supposed classification it has been usual to divide the family into two main groups Āndhra and Drāviḍa. Professor Sten Konow, in Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India undertaken in connection with the Indian Census of 1901, appears to have thought that Brāhūt should be regarded as an independent third group, but subsequent Census Reports recognise only two groups Āndhra and Drāviḍa,

SEC. 1 THE POSITION OF INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN

while Göndi etc., partaking of the characteristics of both the groups are shown as an intermediate group. The cultivated Dravidian languages are Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Tulu belonging to the Dravida group and Telugu belonging to the Andhra group. Of these five, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu possess inscriptions and extensive literatures; the speakers of these four languages number 60.2 millions. The speakers of Tulu number about 6 millions; while the speakers of all other Dravidian languages, viz., Kodagu, Toţa, Kora, Kurukh, Malti and Brāhūi, belonging to the Drāvida group, Kalāmi and Kaṇḍh or Kui belonging to the Āndhra group, Gōnḍi etc., comprising the intermediate group, number only about 3.2 millions.

The following table exhibits the distribution of the population (Census of India, 1921):

Family, Sub-family, Branch.		No. of languages spoken.	No. of speakers in millions.
Languages of India		220	314.389
(i) Austric Family		19	4.529
Munda branch	900	7	3.974
(ii) Tibeto-Chinese Family	44	162	12,885
(iii) Dravidian Family	2/20	14	64.128
Drāvida group	27	7	37.286
Intermediate group		5	3.057
Andhra language	**	1	23.601
N. W. language	*10.	1	.184
(iv) Indo-European Family (A	ryan		
Sub-family)	100	25	232,847
Iranian branch	3.4	2	1.982
Dardic branch		4	1.304
Indo-Aryan branch		19	229.561

2. THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

The cultivated Dravidian languages abound in Sanskrit words and words of Sanskritic origin to such an extent that learned scholars once entertained the opinion that these languages were descended from Sanskrit like the modern languages of Northern India and the Deccan. But a closer acquaintance with the Dravidian grammatical structure led to the abandonment of this extreme view, and Bishop Caldwell's "Camparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" contributed not a little to this result. The almost universal opinion held at present in regard to these languages is that they attained their development long anterior to the advent of the Sanskrit and Präkrt-speaking immigrants into India and that, though the subsequent commingling of the Aryan and the Dravidian races has introduced a very large number of Aryan culture words into the Dravidian languages, they continue to be wholly Dravidian as well as the basic portion of their vocabularies; and it is also claimed for these languages that the simplicity of their structure has exercised a profound influence on the grammatical structure of Sanskrit and of its descendants on Indian soil, and that a considerable proportion of Sanskrit roots is of Dravidian origin. The pendulum has thus swung back to the opposite extreme; for if the theory of direct descent from Sanskrit erred on one side, the current theory which assigns a remote antiquity to the development of the Dravidian languages and regards their structure as unaffected by contact with Aryan idioms errs equally on the other side. The materials collected by the present writer in the course of a detailed examination of the subject would seem to lead to the inference that a very considerable majority, if not all, of the Dravidian grammatical forms have arisen from suffixed elements borrowed from Sanskrit and the Prakrts during the last twenty or twenty-five centuries, and

that the basic portion of the Dravidian vocabulary not traceable directly or indirectly to Sanskrit or other Aryan sources is not very large. To deal fully with the various aspects of the question, it will be necessary to consider it under the heads (i) basic portion of the vocabulary, (ii) nominal declension and (iii) conjugation of verbs. It is proposed to deal in the following pages with the last and most important of these heads, viz., conjugation of verbs, leaving the other two for a future occasion.

A finite verb in Dravidian languages consists in most cases of a verbal base, a pronominal termination, and certain intermediate particles or letters which indicate the tense and mood of the verb. It is these particles and letters which are referred to as tense and mood signs in the title of this book; and an attempt will be made in the following pages to trace the etymology of all such signs in use in the cultivated Dravidian languages.

The pronominal terminations are either pronouns or modifications of pronouns and show the person and grammatical number of the verb, and in most cases the gender also in the forms of the third person. In colloquial Malayalam the finite verb contains no pronominal termination, but consists merely of the verbal base and a tense or mode sign and is common to all persons, numbers and genders. Thus Malayalam koduttu 'gave' [= kodu (verbal base)+tu (past tense sign)] contains no personal termination like the Tamil kotutten = kolu+tu+en. The Malavalam form is like the English forms 'shouted,' 'created 'etc., which are common to all persons, numbers, and genders. Similar forms occur, though to a limited extent, in other Dravidian languages also and it will be shown hereafter that, in the earliest stage of the development of these languages, that is to say, in the pro-Dravidian period, the verb consisted merely of the base and the tense or the mode sign. If these signs or the majority of them can be shown to be of Aryan origin, it follows that the Dravidian languages must have been under Aryan influence from earliest times.

The verbal bases and pronouns naturally come under the head vocabulary and are not dealt with directly in the following pages. But opportunity is taken from time to time to indicate incidentally that some of the commonest of them are of Aryan origin.

3. BISHOP CALDWELL'S DRAVIDIAN THEORY.

The originator of the current Dravidian theory was the late Bishop Caldwell who followed the Danish philologist Rask in classing Dravidian as a member of the so-called Scythic family. He probably began his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" (1856, 2nd edition 1875) with the object of combating the theory then held by some scholars that these languages were directly descended from Sanskrit, but he went much further than this, Having disposed of this theory in the Introduction (pages 45 to 56). to his Grammar he devoted the body of the work to comparing the Dravidian languages with one another and to determining theirs affinities with the other language-groups of the world-Indo-European, Semitic and Scythic-the last including the language of the Finns, the Magyars, the Tartars, the Turks, and the Chinese and all the other languages included in the term Turanian in the terminology of later years. In conclusion, while acknowledging the existence of a very large percentage of Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan words in the Dravidian vocabularies, he maintained that the Dravidian languages had no structural relationship with Sanskrit and attemped to prove that the grammatical affinities of these languages were mainly Scythic-Turanian in the nomenclature of later years, occasionally Semitic, and that, where the affinities were Indo-European, these did not come into existence on Indian soil, but belonged

SEC. 3] BISHOP CALDWELL'S DRAVIDIAN THEORY

mostly to the pre-Aryan period of the pre-historic past when the Aryans and the Turanians were living as one undivided race. The book is a store-house of information on everything Dravidian, and bears evidence on every page of it to the immense learning of the author, his indefatigable research, his genius for analysis, and his familiarity with the grammars of almost all the languages of the world. Further the conclusions arrived at by the eminent author were expressed in no halting or faltering tones, many of the discussions on controvertible points being wound up with some such phrases as 'I have no doubt' 'I have little doubt' "It cannot be doubted" 'We can scarcely err in supposing 'ctc. It is no wonder, therefore, that the work produced an immense sensation at the time, the views expressed therein being accepted by almost every scholar of note, and that the theories propounded therein have continued to dominate the Dravidian field for nearly seventy years. Among those who accepted these theories in their entirety special mention must be made of Dr. H. Gundert and Dr. F. Kittel, two missionary names, which Dravidian scholars should always hold in grateful remembrance for the Dictionaries and Grammars bearing these names.

The theory of direct descent from Sanskrit was based wholly on the extraordinary proportion of words of Sanskritic origin in the Dravidian vocabularies and took no note of the dissimilarity of the Dravidian grammatical forms to the Sanskrit forms. Bishop Caldwell had no difficulty in demolishing that theory, but he installed in its stead the equally untenable Scythic theory which it took many years of discussion to dislodge from its position. It is no disparagement to a pioneer worker, however eminent, to have it said that subsequent workers discovered serious errors in his work. The materials necessary for a historical treatment of the Dravidian question were not available in Bishop Caldwell's time and

generalising on the imperfect and incomplete materials then to band, he has sown the Dravidian field with a large number of questionable etymologies and equations which now impede progress at every step. Most of these etymologies, analogies, and equations will be fully dealt with in the following pages, but a few of them may be mentioned here to show how fundamental Bishop Caldwell's misconceptions were.

- i. There is a class of Telugu forms ending in-9 which are called drutaprakytika; the final -n of these words is often not pronounced except when the words are followed by vowels. Bishop Caldwell regarded the final -n of many of these words as put in for the purpose of preventing hiatus between two consecutive vowels in a certain class of cases just as -y is put in for the same purpose in the remaining class of cases called kala (c.p.o. pages 72-74). The druta of the copulative conjunction un, of the benedictive suffixes edumand -tan and of the third person agrist form ceppunu appears as-m in other languages; in these and in most other casesthis drute or final -n is an essential part of Telugu suffixes and post-positions and enables us to trace the relationship of Telugu forms with the corresponding forms in other languages. To ignore this druta, as Bishop Caldwell does, as merely euphonic and adventitious, will have the same effect on these words as phonetic spelling will have on such words as doubt, should, alms, receipt, etc., in English.
- ii. Bishop Caldwell also considered it probable that the n of the Tamil-Telugu past tense forms in -into and the d of the past tense forms of some verbs in Kanarese were euphonic. Thus the past relative participles—Tamil kattina that showed?; Telugu kottina that beat?; Kanarese madida that made "—were according to him made up as follows:—

Kattina=Kattu+i+(n)+aKattina=kattu+i+(n)+aMadida=madu+i+(d)+a SEC. 3]

the intervening-n- and -d- being put in to prevent hiatus. He also had an alternative theory that the -n- and -d- were perhaps the signs of the preterite and either way he arrived at the equation d=n, the former letter being the older (pages 390-394). The fact that modern Malayalam which separated very late from Tamil shows neither -d- nor -n- in the forms under consideration shows how untenable these theories are, especially the former.

iii. He also got together a number of Tamil formsirukkinganan 'he is'; irundanan 'he was'; porulana 'things ' that are real'; varuna 'things that will come'; emmanar 'they will say'—which he analysed as follows:—

- 1. irukinganan irukkinga+(v) + an
- 2. irundanan = irunda+(v)+an
- 3. porulan a = porula+ v)+a
- varupa=varu+(n)+a
- enmanār = enma + (n) + ār

the intervening -n-being put in, according to him, to prevent hiarus (C. D. G. pages 74-75). There are forms in Old Tamil like irundonru 'it was', vandanru 'it came' etc., in the third person neuter singular, which in accordance with the above analysis should be resolved into

- 6. izundangu irundu+(n)+tu
- vandayyu=vandu+(p)+tu etc.,

where -g- does not fill up any hiatus between vowels. This shows that Bishop Caldwell's analysis is wrong. The forms must be resolved thus:—

- 1. irrukkinganan irukkingu + an + an
- 2. irundanan = irundu + an + an
- 3. porulana=porul+an+a
- 4. varukuna=varu+kun+a
- 5. enmanar = en+man+ar
- 6. irundangu=irundu+an+tu
 - 7. vandangu=vandu+an+tu

It can be shown that, in each of these cases, the intermediate -n- is an integral part of suffixes derived from Aryan.

It is on the basis of instances like these that he arrived at his conclusion that the Dravidian languages resembled Greek in using the letter -n- to prevent hiatus between vowels. (C. D. G. Introduction page 76.)

iv. His equation that the Tamil formative suffix-ku was the same as the Telugu-su and the Kanarese-su (pages 97-98) entirely overlooks the fact that there are Telugu forms in which the -k- of the original -ku suffix has not been palatalized. The Telugu suffix-su was a late addition to Telugu roots and does not appear to have been adopted in the pro-Dravidian period when -ku was fully established in Tamil. The view taken in the following pages of the -su suffix is that it has arisen from an older -tyū or -tu suffix, but Bishop Caldwell actually warns his readers against this view and against the illusory resemblance of the Tamil voiccu (veiltu) to the Telugu veici 'having placed' (pages 396-397).

4. THE VIEWS OF GUNDERT, KITTEL AND POPE.

Dr. Kittel was a profound scholar of the Kanarese language and literature, and his Kannada-English Dictionary published in 1894 is the best that has appeared of any Dravidian language; his Grammar of the Kannada language published in 1903 deals exhaustively with the grammatical forms of the ancient, the mediaeval, and the modern Kanarese and embodies the results of the labours of a life-time. Dr. H. Gundert, a profound scholar of the Malayalam language and literature belonged to an earlier generation, and his Malayalam-English Dictionary (1872) in which, in addition to his own life-work, he has utilised the materials collected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoli is a

monument of research; his Malayalam Grammar (2nd edition 1868) appears to have been the first grammar that has been published in that language. These scholars accepted Bishop Caldwell's theories in their entirety and supplemented his work by doing for the Dravidian vocabularies what Bishop Caldwell had done for the common grammatical framework of the languages. Dr. Gundert's Dictionary furnishes under each Malayalam word information as to whether the word is to be found in other cultivated Dravidian languages also and, if so, in what other languages, and in cases where the word is common to all the five cultivated languages, viz., Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Tulu and Telugu, the Roman numeral 5 is written after the word. In Dr. Kittel's Dictionary the information under this head is much fuller, the allied words and roots in all the five languages being given in great detail. The vast heap of materials brought together in the works of these authors is of great help to the Dravidian student in constructing a pro-Dravidian vocabulary, but the want of familiarity of these scholars with the Vedic dialects and with the Prakrts (secondary and tertiary) arising out of these dialects detracts much from the value of the theories propounded in their works. This is specially the case with the long list of roots given in the Introduction to Dr. Kittel's Dictionary which Sanskrit is supposed to have borrowed from the Dravidian; the list includes a selection from the lists previously published by Bishop Caldwell and Dr. Gundert.

Dr. G. U. Pope was a distinguished missionary, well versed in Tamil language and literature, but he did not accept Bishop Caldwell's theories; and in a series of articles in the Indian Antiquary he suggested enquiry as to whether in these theories "certain things have not been taken for granted rather too suddenly in regard to the Dravidian dialects". He was the first to point out that the law of the

harmonic sequence of vowels did not obtain in most of these dialects. He was further of opinion,

- "that between the languages of Southern India and those of the Aryan family there are many deeply seated and radical affinities;
- that the differences between the Dravidian tongues and the Aryan are not so great as between the Celtic (for instance) and the Sanskrii; and
- 3. that, by consequence, the doctrine that the place of the Dravidian dialects is rather with the Aryan than with the Turanian family of languages is still capable of defence". He illustrated these positions by means of copious illustrations and pointed out that "the resemblances (appeared) most frequently in the more uncultivated Dravidian dialects" and that "the identity (was) most striking in the names of instruments, places, and acts connected with a simple life". He also promised "to consider derivative words" in a future paper "and to show that the prefixes and affixes (were) Aryan"; but no such paper appears to have been published.

5. DR. STEN KONOW'S VIEWS.

The next great landmark in the history of Dravidian philology was the publication in 1906 of Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India which gives specimens of the chief Dravidian languages and of their dialectic varieties. The preparation of this volume was entrusted to Dr. Sten Konow of Christiana and Sir G. A. Grierson, the editor of the series, is jointly responsible with him for the theories put forth in the volume. Unfortunately the area for which the Government of India ordered a linguistic survey in connection with the Census of 1901 did not include Southern India where the cultivated Dravidian languages are spoken and where the vast majority of the Dravidian speakers live.

The Editors have, however, thought it advisable to give a short sketch of the principal Dravidian languages without reference to habitat, in order to make it easier to compare and classify the North Indian members of the family included within the scope of the Survey. Hence only short accounts are given of Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telngu while theminor Dravidian dialects of the South, viz., Kodagu, Tulu, Toda and Kōṭa are not described at all.

At pages 278 to 282 of the volume these scholars give a summary of the results of the fifty years discussion since the first publication of Bishop Caldwell's book. It is impossible to explain in detail here how most of the Turanian affinities elaborated by the latter have had to be given up, but the net result will be clear from the following extract (page 282).

"The denomination 'Scythian' is a very unhappy one. The Scythian words which have been handed down by Greek writers are distinctly Iranian, i.e., they belong to the Indo-European family. But nevertheless the name has been used as a common designation of all those languages of Asia and Europe which do not belong to the Indo-European or Semitic families. Moreover, those languages cannot, by any means, be brought together into one linguistic family, The monosyllabic languages of China and neighbouring countries are just as different from the dialects spoken in Caucasus or from the speech of the Finns and Magyars, as is the Indo-European family. The points in which they agree are such features as recur in almost all languages, and they are by no means sufficient to outweigh the great and fundamental characteristics in which they differ from each other. In regard to the Dravidian languages the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India is now generally recognized as a failure and we must still consider them as an isolated family."

It is but natural that such attempts should fail, for the Vedic Aryans probably entered India about 4,000 years ago, and if, as is held by many, the Dravidian languages were spoken not only in the South but also in the West and the North-West of India formerly, these languages must have been in contact with the Aryan dialects now for forty centuries. However this may be, confining attention to the Dravidian languages spoken now in the Deccan and Southern India and to the historic period in which large Hindu, Jain, and Buddhistic colonies are known to have been established in the South, we may confidently say that the Dravidian languages have been in close contact with the Aryan dialects certainly for the last 2,000 years, probably for 2,500 years; and we know that several aboriginal races have abandoned their mother tongues and are now speaking Aryan languages, while many indigenous dialects are now being rapidly Aryanised under our very eyes. In regard to the cultivated languages-Tamil, Malavalam, Kanarese and Telugu-which have a literature and a grammatical standard and which have remained practically unchanged for a considerable period, it must be remembered that the Brahmans, Jains and Buddhists who first cultivated these languages were full of northern learning and would have greatly Arvanised their structure. In these circumstances it was illogical, to say the least, to minimise, ignore, and reject as Bishop Caldwell did, Sanskritic and Aryan analogies, and to take a jump over the Himalayas and the Hindukush in search of analogies in distant Finland, Hungary, Lapland, Caucasus, Japan etc., on the basis of an unproved assumption that the Dravidians came from the West and must have been speaking a Turanian language originally.

In regard to the question whether or not the Dravidians are autochthonous to India, the Editors of the Survey remark:—"With regard to the Drāvidas, some authorities believe that they arrived in India from the South, while others suppose them to have entered it from the North-West where a Dravidian language is still spoken by the Brāhūīs of Baluchistan. The Brāhūīs do not belong to the Dravidian race but are anthropologically Iranians, i.e., they have merged into the race of their neighbours. It is possible that the same is the case with the Dravidian tribes of the South wherever they came from, but anthropology only tells us that the Dravidian race comprises Mundas and Drāvidas, and we have no information to show that the Drāvidas are not the original inhabitants of the South" (L. S., Vol. IV, page 5).

The alleged relationship of the Dravidian languages with the Munda is examined at pages 2-5 of the volume and the conclusion arrived at is that the two families only agree in such points as are common to most agglutinative languages, that there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same original and that they form two quite independent families.

The Editors express an equally emphatic opinion that all "attempts to show a closer connection with the Indo-Germanic family have proved just as futile" (Vol. IV, page 282).

The aim of the present writer is to show that a closer relationship with the Indo-Aryan languages, than that allowed by Bishop Caldwell or by the Editors of the Linguistic Survey of India does exist, but not in the sense that the Dravidian is derived from the Indo-Aryan, like the modern Aryan languages of Northern India and of the Deccan.

6. THE ARYAN ELEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN VOCABULARIES

(A selection from Bishop Caldwell's Supposed Pure Dravidian words.)*

^{*} The author's typescript does not contain this list of words.

The conclusion which the materials collected by the present writer lead to has been briefly stated in section 2 above; it is to the effect that most of the Dravidian grammatical forms have arisen from suffixal elements borrowed from Indo-Arvan and that the non-Arvan element even in the basic portions of the Dravidian vocabularies is not considerable. This position is utterly at variance not only with the views of European scholars but also with those of Indian scholars generally; for though there may be many Indians who hold the opinion that there is a much larger admixture of the Aryan element in the Dravidian vocabularies than that allowed by Bishop Caldwell and Prof. Sten Konow, there are perhaps few or none who think that the Dravidian grammatical elements are derived from Arvan sources. The reason for this appears to lie in the circumstance that the Aryan elements compared with the Dravidian languages have till now been taken mostly from classical Sanskrit. For instance, at page 48 of the Introduction of Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar some sixty words of primary importance (not including pronouns and numerals) in Tamil are contrasted with their equivalents in Sanskrit and the conclusion arrived at is that the two languages have no common basis. The Sanskrit words chosen are from classical Sanskrit and not from the Vedic idioms or from the spoken Prakrts.

Though classical Sanskrit had its roots in a dialect similar to the Vedic idioms, it latterly became, owing to various causes, an artificial, literary language confined almost wholly to books and ceased to be the home speech even of the learned. Similarly Māhārāṣṭri, Pāli and other literary Prākṛts, though originally they were popular idioms, became highly artificial in course of time. Words relating to philosophy and the sciences are no doubt often borrowed from books, but wherever there is a large infusion of foreign words and idioms in the spoken language of a people, we have to look for their source in the spoken speech—the colloquial and vulgar idioms—not in literary works. These idioms and elements adopted at first in the popular speech ultimately find their way into literature and into books.

To ascertain to what extent Dravidian language and grammar have been affected by Aryan forms of speech we must compare the former with the popular Aryan idioms prevailing at the time when the Aryans and the Dravidians first came in contact, and not with an artificial language confined only to books. For a similar reason it will be seen that as much importance, if not more, is attached in this book to colloquial, vulgar and dialectic Dravidian idioms as to standard and grammatical forms.

We proceed to illustrate these observations by about a dozen examples under each head and begin with a selection from the words given at page 48 of the Introduction to Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar. It must be borne in mind that the equivalences exhibited below hold good only in regard to the root-forms of the words instanced and not in regard to the terminations showing number, gender etc. Thus the Tamil word Iraman (a proper name) corresponds to the Sanskrit Rāmah, both the words being in the masculine nominative singular; but the equivalence is only in regard to the root-forms, the Tamil iram and the Sanskrit vāma. The final short vowels of Sanskrit words of two or more syllables are quiescent, and are at last elided in popular speech and as no Tamil word can begin with e- an on-glide i -is inserted; thus we get the Tamil form irdm-The Sanskrit termination h (for s) has no connection with the Tamil on which is an entirely different formation derived from the Indo-Aryan ant. So also the S. mrgali and the T. man both meaning a deer (item 10 below) are equivalent only in regard to their root-forms, (i.e.) S. mrga and T. ma (=Pr. maga). The -p of man was a masculine sign in its inception.

Again take the S. ustra 'a camel.' Having regard to the limited number of consonants in Tamil the combination stra can exist only as tta in Tamil; the initial u-of the word will become o- and the final short a-will become quiescent; the form which ustra should take in Tamil will thus be oftu. But the actual forms are oftai, oftakan, oftakai; the first of these is equivalent to ustra and the second and the third to ustrakaka. The words vērikai, erumai, kutirai in the table below should be similarly derived from vyāghraka, hērambaka, asvataraka, all containing a pleonastie-ka.

It is unnecessary to explain such niceties in detail at this stage.

En	glish	Sanskrit	Tamil	Proposed word.
1.	hair	keśa	mayir	S. śmaśru
2. 2. (a)	mouth	mukha	pily	S. vac
Z (II)	nose	#	Tam. műkku Tel. mukku	S. mukha
3.	ear	karņa	ševi	S. śrava S. śravika
4. 4. (a)}	hear	STR	{kēļ kēņ (Tuļu)	S. (ā) karņ
5. (a)}	eat	bhakş	{ting	S. truu S. tr
6. 6. (a)	walk	car	{ēg-u sel	S. ya or i

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Engli	sh _	Sanskrit	Tamil	Proposed word.
7. ni	ght	nak	{irā iravu	S. rā-tri
8. m	other	mātr	ayi	ydy (Pais)
9. tij	ger	vyäghra	puli	vēri gai (Tamil)
10. de 10. (a) be	eer} ast}	mrga	marai mδη må	S. mṛga (maraga) Pr. maga Pr. maga
11. f	ire	agni	II.	S. tējas, tij
12. 12. (a) }	snake	sarpa	fambu aravu arava (m)	S. prasarpa (*pasap) S. sarpa (*sarapa) S. sarpaka (*sarapaka),
13. v	illage	grāma	ür	S. pura
14. 1 14. (a)	nuffalo	mahişa	{ erumai māḍu 'cattle'	S. hēram- ba (ka) S. māhişa
15.	iorse	aŝva	kutirai	S. asvatara (ka)
16. 1	úll	parvata	malai	poruppu (Tam)

The first three columns are from Bishop Caldwell's book. The fourth column contains words now suggested for comparison. The lines 2 (a), 4 (a), 5 (a), 6 (a), 10 (a), 12 (a) and 14 (a) are also additions now suggested.

- 1. The Sanskrit word smasana 'a cemetery, a burning ground' has become mayanam in Tamil, by the loss of the first consonant s-and the weakening of the second -s-into-p-. The word mayir has arisen from a similar modification of smasru 'the beard, the hair on the body'.
- In classical Sanskrit the word ode means 'voice, sound, speech'; 'but in Vedic Sanskrit it also meant the 'mouth'; 'as the footnote quotations will show.
- 2. (a) It may also be pointed out here that the Dravidian word mūkku must be affiliated to the Sanskrit mukka which means not only 'mouth,' but is also applied to the 'beak' of birds and the 'snout' or 'muzzle' of lower animals. Greek uvk-tuu 'nose,' Latin mucus 'snivel' may also be mentioned here (Curtius Greek Etymology, page 162).
- 3. The Sanskrit word *sravika ' ear' with a ka suffix is probably the original of the Tamil cevi.

Svayam ēva mantram bruvānā patnī jalam sincantī satī pašēr angāni āpyāyati "vāk tē āpyāyatām" iti mantrēna vācam; "prānas ta" iti nāsikē" (Srautapadārthanirvacanam, page 170).

The wife of the sacrificer sits by the side of the slaughtered victim and washes the various parts of its body pronouncing certain mantras. One of the parts washed is the mouth and she washes it (vācam) saying 'vāk tē āpyāyatām' 'let your vāk be refreshed.' Another is the nostrils and she washes them saying 'let your prāṇa be refreshed.' Compare also the following passage in the Taittirīya Upanisad:—'kṣēma iti vāci; yogakṣema iti prāṇapāṇaych; karma iti hastayoh; gatiriti pādayoh; vimuktiriti pāyau (T.A. 5-15).

SEC. 6] THE ARYAN ELEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN VOCABULARIES

- The correct esymological syllabilication of ĕku is ĕ-ku. It is well known that an original yo often becomes ĕ in Dravidian languages.
- The Tamil word i-rd is identical with the root form of rd-tri.
- 8. The Old Tamil form of āyi is yāy; allied forms occur in the Paišāca languages of the North-West India and are connected with the Sanskrit verb jāyate * he is born.* (Vide page 75 of Grierson's Paišāca languages).
- The Sanskrit vydghra is obviously the original of the Tamil vērikai.
- 10. In Prākṛt the Sanskrit-ṛ-often changes into-dand mṛga ' deer, antelope ' becomes maga; in Pāli it is magō (nominative singular). The Tamil words mā 'a beast, an animal ' and māṇ 'a deer ' are both derived from the Sanskrit mṛga through Prākṛt maga, the final-ṇ in māṇ being probably a masculine termination. Compare Tamil marumakaṇ ' nephew ', marumakaļ, marumaka ' niece,' which have become respectively marumāṇ, marumāḷ, marumā.

The vowel-r-changes also into-ar-and with a glide vowel (starabhakti) between-r-and-g-the word mrga will become maragu, and this will give the form marai.

- 12. The Sanskrit sarpa 'a serpent' will become sarapa with a glide vowel between-r-and-p-also *sarapaka with a pleonastic ka. These two altered forms will give aravu and aravam. While *prasarpa 'which creeps along' or *apasarpa 'which glides away might have given rise to pap through the intermediate *pasap. For a large number of examples in which Tamil elides-s-in Sanskrit words, see Section 31 below.
- In many well known instances of names of towns and villages, pura has become ūr in historical times.

- (a) Dasapura, a place of pilgrimage mentioned in a grant of Dadda IV of the first half of the 7th Century is the modern Man-Dasor in Western Malwa (E.I. Vol. V, page 38).
- (b) Rājyapura where an inscription of Mathanadeva (960 A.D.) has been found is now Rājôr or Rājôrgaḍh, a village on a lofty range of hills in the Rājgaḍh district of the Alwar State in Rājputāna (E.I. Vol. III, page 265).
- (c) Sihapura which, according to Ceylon tradition was the original home of the earliest Aryan immigrants is now Sihör.
- (d) Ādūr is Pāṇḍipura in a Western Cālukya inscription of the 8th Century A.D. and is Pāṇḍiyūr in the later inscriptions of the Western Cālukyas and the Kadambas (I.A. Vol. XI, page 69).
- (e) Hatti-mattür is Mattüra in a Bhairanmatti inscription of the 11th Century A.D. (E.I. Vol. III, page 231) and is Maltavür in an inscription of the 8th Century (E.I. Vol. VI, page 161).
- (f) Sirūr (Dhārwār) appears as Śrivūra in an inscription of the 9th Century A.D. (E.I. Vol. VII, page 202).

Such instances may be multiplied. They show that the initial-p-of the Sanskrit pura or pur becomes v-intervocally and is ultimately lost in course of time, and that the Dravidian fir 'a village' is probably a tadbhava of pur or pura.

Similar changes have taken place in the Telugu prôlu a town or village as the following names will show:—

Bhattiprölu, Cēybrölu, Nidadavölu, Razöle, Kurnool (formerly Kandenavölu).

14. (a) 'Buffalo ' is only a specialised meaning of malaşa as mahā and māhēyi mean 'a cow' and māhişaka means 'a shepherd ' generally, as also 'a buffalo herdsman.' The

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word mahişa or māhişa corrupted into *māṣa and with the last vowel quiescent appears to be the original of mād pronounced mādu. Sanskrit ş changes into d often in Tamil, as in the following words for instance:—

S. varşa 'a year,' sisya 'disciple,' mēşa 'a sheep,' vēşa 'a disguise' etc., which exist as varudam, sīdan, mēdam etc. in Tamil.

The word mal means a cow in a Tamil dialect (L. S. Vol. IV, page 347).

15. The initial a of words is often lost when the accent is distant as in the Aryan vernacular forms ham, hāmi, haks, hagge for the Sanskrit aham 'I' (cf. below). The spirant-s-is pronounced-kh-in some dialects in the north, e.g., Skt. dṛs' see'; Iṣvara, a proper name, Vibhīṣaṇa 'Rāvaṇa's brother' etc.; which become dākh, ikhbal, bibikhan etc., in the north. We thus get a possible khwtaraka which may be the original of kutirai in Tamil and guṛramu in Telugu by the samprasārana of va. The Sanskrit asvatarī, Prākṛt assatarī, asatarī etc., exist as attiri¹ in Tamil; this last appears to have meant, not a mere mule, but a valuable riding animal used by noblemen in the Tamil country formerly.

The above notes and remarks do not certainly constitute the last word in regard to some of the words dealt with here, especially *prasarpa and *asvalaraka which look like artificial formations. But the notes bring out clearly that a comparison of Dravidian words with words of the same meaning given in the dictionaries of classical Sanskrit is not enough for the purpose of determining whether these words have any Indo-Aryan affinities and will often lead to fallacious results.

Kõvalan the hero of Cilappatikāram rode on an attiri in his palmy days. vāṇa vankaiya nattiri yēra (Cilap. VI, 1.119) 'the man of high mumificence riding an attiri'.

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(4) SPECIMENS OF SANSKRIT WORDS IN DRAVIDIAN CHANGED BEYOND ALL RECOGNITION

Criticising the theory (now abandoned) that the Dravidian languages were derived directly from Sanskrit, Bishop Caldwell said that:—

- "It overlooked the circumstance that the non-Sanskritic portion of the Dravidian languages was very greatly in excess of the Sanskrit.
- (2) "It overlooked the still more material circumstance that the pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their verbal and nominal inflexions, and the syntactic arrangement of their words—everything, in short, which constitute the living spirit of a language—were originally and radically different from Sanskrit.
- (3) "The orientalists who held the opinion of the derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, relied mainly on the circumstance that all dictionaries of Dravidian languages contained a large number of Sanskrit words scarcely at all altered, and a still larger number which, though much altered, were evidently Sanskrit derivatives. They were not, however, aware that such words are never regarded by native scholars as of Dravidian origin, but are known and acknowledged to be derived from Sanskrit, and that they are arranged in classes, according to the degree in which they have been corrupted, or with reference to the medium through which they have been derived. They were also unaware that true Dravidian words, which form the great majority of the words in the southern vocabularies, are placed by native grammarians in a different class from the abovementioned derivatives from Sanskrit and honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'

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(4) "The Orientalists who supposed the Dravidian languages to be derived from Sanskrit were not aware of the existence of uncultivated languages of the Dravidian family, in which Sanskrit words are not at all, or but very rarely, employed, and they were also not aware that some of the Dravidian languages which make use of Sanskrit derivatives, are able to dispense with those derivatives altogether, such derivatives being considered rather as luxuries or articles of finery than as necessaries. It is true it would now be difficult for Telugu to dispense with its Sanskrit: more so for Kanarese; and most of all for Malayalam;-those languages having borrowed from Sanskrit so largely, and being so habituated to look up to it for help, that it would be scarcely possible for them now to assert their independence. Tamil, however, the most highly cultivated ab intra of all Dravidian idioms, can dispense with its Sanskrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone but flourish without its aid."

He also said :-

"In general no difficulty is felt in distinguishing Sanskrit derivatives from the ancient Dravidian roots."

These statements are due to a radical misapprehension as to the origin of the so-called "ancient Dravidian roots." The Tamil alphabet is entirely unable to represent or express Sauskrit words as it contains in each varga of consonants only two sounds—unaspirate tenues and nasals—as against the five sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet, and there is reason to believe that the alphabets of Telugu and Kanarese were equally deficient in former times. Sanskrit words which had already undergone great mutilation in the Präkrts underwent further corruptions in the Dravidian languages, so that most of them have been transformed out of all recognition and it is impossible to identify many of them as Sanskrit tadbhavas without a familiar knowledge of

the laws of sound obtaining in the Prākṛts. This is the reason why Indian grammarians have regarded a very large class of such words as pure Dravidian unconnected with Sanskrit, but the majority of these supposed Dravidian words can be shown to be very corrupt tadhhavar of Sanskrit. The following selection will illustrate this point.

1. Tamil : kūnam ' gold, a gold coin '

Sanskrit : kārṣāpaṇa ' a coin or weight."

Prākṛt : kāhāvaṇō ; Hindi : kahān : Oriyā, kāhān : Bengālī : kāhaṇa (B.A.G. Vol. 1, page 355.)

2. Tamil : ați a man's foot."

Sanskrit: alighri' a foot, foot-step '; Hindi and Gujarātī:
edi; Pānjābī: Marāṭhī: eda, Bengāli: edi' heel'; Singhalese:
adiya' a foot, 'edi' feet, '(B.A.G. Vol. 1, page 134; LA.
Vol. XI, page 201).

3. Tamil: mutunir, munnis ' the sea'.

S. samudra ' the ocean.' Singh. Old: hamuda; muhuda (with transposition of consonants), later mada (I.A. Vol. XI, page 213), so that mutunir is literally 'water of the ocean."

- 4. 'Tamil: vai 'paddy stalks,' vanal 'a paddy field,' Vide S. 26 below where these are traced to a secondary derivative from the Indo-Iranian wihi 'rice, the rice plant.'
 - 5. Tamil: nel, nullu ' paddy.'

Vide S. 27 below where these are traced to the Vedic niedra ' wild paddy.'

- 6. Tamil : puravu, pura, prā " a dove."
 - S. pārāvatah, 'a dove '; Pr. pārāvo, pārāo (Var : IV. 5).
- 7. 'Tamil: 14 ai, 'a name of the goddess Parvati,'
 - S. parvati. Pr. pavva. (B. A. G. Vol. I, page 185).

The following three items (8), (9) and (10) exhibit some of the changes which the Indo-Aryan conjunct consonant ms undergoes.

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- Tamil vicam one sixteenth part, containing twenty muntiris, a muntiri being the smallest fraction in Tamil arithmetic.
- S. vinisati or vinisa 'twenty.' H. bis; M. vis.; B. bic; G. Vis (B.A.G. Vol. I, page 155). The Tamil form corresponds to *vinisakam.
- Tamil vankişa 'a race, family, lineage '; vālai 'the plantain'; mānkil, vēy 'the bamboo.' These words appear to be derived from the Sanskrit vantsa (1) 'a race, family, lineage.' (2) 'the bamboo.'

It is well known that anusadra is pronounced in Oriya and Bengali as fig (B.A.G. Vol. I, page 275), thus arisia 'share' should be pronounced arigga and sinika 'lion' should be pronounced singha. A few words in Tamil appear to arise from a similar pronunciation of M in a nexus. One of these is the Tamil sinkam' a lion'; another is the semi-literary word vankisam which is the equivalent of *vanisaka. The form equivalent to vanisa will be vanigis which appears to be the original of the Tamil mūnkil. Vide S. 8-b below.

If the anusodra is elided and the vowel preceding it is lengthened as in the case of virisa (=vic) in item No. 8, then varisaka will become vāṣaka which is the original of the Tamil vālai ' the plantain'—the bamboo and the plantain being apparently called by the same word Varisa as they grow in clusters. The Tamil vēy ' the bamboo ' appears to be due to the form vās (=varisa) T. vadir ' the bamboo '= S. vētra.

- 10. Tamil: tinkal, 'the moon', 'a month'.
- S. trinsa thirty takes the form the thirty in the Aryan vernaculars of the North; this change is analogous to that of vimsa (=vic) (Number 8 above).

In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese trinisa appears to have taken the form *tings or *lingas (with a glide vowel a)

which is the original of tinkal 'a month.' Just as vicam literally 'twenty' stands for a quantity represented by twenty of the smallest fractions, so tinkal literally 'thirty' stands for 'a period of thirty days,' i.e., 'a month.'

- 11. Telugu: đượ (lu), Tamil: aiyavi 'mustard.'
 - S. sarşapa 'mustard.' Pāli sūsapa.

When both the s's are elided the word becomes dava which gives the forms ded, syava, with a junction consonant in the latter form.

 Tamil: erumbu, uluva; Malayalam: erumbu, irumbu, urumbu; Kanarcse: iruve, irive, irumbe, irumbu, iruva, iruhe, irvu, irve; all meaning 'the ant.'

The Telugu word is cima which was probably *cirma originally. This *cirma which has apparently given rise to the other Dravidian words mentioned above through the weakening and the ultimate loss of the initial s appears itself to have arisen from the Sanskrit krimi an ant (Lith: kirmi) through the palatalisation of k.

- 13. Bahvrca 'the Rg-Veda' literally 'having many verses'; bahvrc 'the Rg-vedic Brāhmans.' These have been corrupted into the Tamil pauliyam 'the Rg-veda' which occurs in a Travancore inscription of the 9th Century (T.A.S. Vol. I, page 8). By the time of Naccinārkkiniyar it had become pauliyam and paulikam. (Commentaries on Kalittokai, Introduction, and Tolkāppiyam, Eluttu. Pāyiram).
- 14. Tamil umpalam, umpalikkai 'tax-free lands given for subsistence.' This appears to be derived from the same source as the Aśokan form ōbalikē 'tax-free' which occurs in the Paderia pillar inscription (E. I. Vol. V, page 5). Dr. Buhler derives ōbalikē from apabalika 'tax-free.'

Tamil campalam 'wages, salary,' is probably connected with samabalika 'half-tax-free,'

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15. Tamil kātam 'a distance of about ten miles.' This appears as kāvatam in Old Tamil where it seems to denote a shorter distance and is traceable to the Sanskrit gazyūti 'a distance of two krôśaś ' equal to about four miles.

These words illustrate what corruptions the original Sanskrit words have undergone and how it is impossible to recognize many of them as of Aryan origin without a detailed investigation in each case.

- Tamil: kālai 'the morning, to-morrow morning,' kilakku 'the east'.
- S. kalyam 'dawn.' Pr. kallam. Sindh. kālha, kalha; G. M. kāla; O. kāli; B. kāli, kāila. These words mean 'to-morrow' also 'yesterday.' (B.A.G. Vol. I, page 350).
- 17. Tamil: mālai 'the evening'; mērku 'the west.'
 S. malam 'impurity,' malina 'dark.' H. M. maila, G. maļa,
 mēla, P. maļa, mala, mila (Hemacandra II, 138; B.A.G.
 Vol. II, page 175).
 - 18. Tamil : ten ' southern,' terku' south.'
- S. dakşinah, 'south.' Pr. dāhinō. E.H. dāhin 'right.' dachin 'south.' K. dachan 'south.' (H.G.G. S. 116 note, B.A.G. Vol. I, page 310).

Dāhin has apprently become the Tamil ten.

The termination -ku in kilakku, mērku and terku are obviously imitations of the terminations of the Sanskrit forms prāk 'eastern,' avāk 'southern,' pratyak 'western.' udak 'northern.' visvak 'in all directions,' tiryak 'horizontal' etc., Kīl, mēl are obviously connected with the Prākṛt words from which the Tamil kālai 'the morning' and mālai 'the evening' are derived; ten is contracted from dāhin. These three words are not found in Kanarese and Telugu, and are obviously derived by Tamil from Sanskrit.

Bishop Caldwell thought that the termination *ku of these names was the sign of the fourth case. He also thought that kilakku ' the east ' and mēṛku' the west ' were derived from the Tamil words kil ' below ' and mēl ' above ' and that they were so called from the nature of the Tamil country which sloped down from west to east. This explanation is ingenious but the use of the same words in Malabar is fatal to it (C.D.G.).

(b) SPECIMENS OF SANSKRIT WORDS IN DRAVIDIAN DISGUISED PARTLY BY A CHANGE IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF VOWELS

The Dravidian languages have all the vowels of Sanskrit except the artificial r and l, but even here the Dravidian pronunciation differs from that in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit grammarians regard that i, u are natural elementary vowels and that \bar{e} , \bar{o} , the guna vowels and at au, the viddhi vowels are produced from these by shifting the accent to them. On the other hand the Indo-Germanic philologists regard the guna vowels \bar{e} , \bar{o} as representing the normal stage from which the low grade vowels i, u, arise in un-accented syllables. From Comparative Grammar the latter seems to be the correct view and it also agrees with Vararuci's Präkṛt rules which generally substitute \bar{e}^1 and \bar{o}^2 for the first ai and au of Sanskrit words and also for first i and u in many cases. This is another reason why Dravidian words should be compared with the corresponding words of spoken Prākṛts, not with the words of the artificial classical Sanskrit. The following table will illustrate this point:

aita êt (Var. I-33) 'e is substituted for the first ai'.
 auta ôt (Var. I-41) 'e is substituted for the first au'.

Sanskrit words containing the lowest grade vowels.	Derivative Sanskrit words containing veddhi or the highest grade vowels.	Allied words in Tamil.
1. śisu 'a child'	åaisavam 'childhood'	cey <cee 'a="" child,<="" th=""></cee>
2. piśa-ta demon t	paisāca' pertaining to a demon'	pôy <pēc a="" de-<br="">mon .</pēc>
3. Sibi (' name of a king ')	saibya a descendant of Sibi'	cempiya (a title of Côla kings supposed to be descended from Sibi).
4. kumāra 'a boy '	kaumāram 'child- hood'	kommai 'youth' komara 'ayouth'.
5. kutila 'erook- ed'	kautilyam 4 crooked- ness*	ketum ' crooked'.
6. krūra ' cruel '	krawyam 'cruelty'	koţumai 'cruelty'.
7. itara the other opposite of		etir (v), 'oppose etilar ' neigh- bours'.
8. pusya * name	pausi, pausa, 'the	K. idaru, idiru, iduru, edaru, etc., 'the front, opposition', pōki (pōsī) pok
of a constella- tion	full moon and the month connected with the constel- lation.'	gal (pōkki (feasts occur ring in the month.)

Sanskrit words containing the lowest grade vowels,	Derivative Sanskrit words containing vriding or the highest grade wooels.	Allied words in Tanil.
9. cira ' a cloth '	celam 'a cloth '	celai 'a cloth'.
10. e@d&* a lock on the crown of head'	caulam "the cere- mony of tonsure"	colina (a caste wearing front locks).
11. sira ' a plough'	sairika 'pertaining to a plough',	ër 'a plough'
12. trilinga	trailingya	telunku the Telugu lang- uage'.
13	maurya 'a dynasty of northern kings '	mõriyar the Mauryas'.
14.	Pr. kaila, kāli, kāla from S. kalyam 'the morning'	kil, kila-k-ku 'the direction of morning or of light'.
15	maila, mēla, mala, from S. mala, Dark'	möl, mēgku ' the direction of evening or of darkness'.
16,	dāhin, from S. dakṣiṇā, the South'	teg, tegku, 'the direction of the south or the right side'.

For the explanation of the words in the second column of items 14, 15 and 16 see the notes under items 16, 17, 18 of (a) above.

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S. 8. THE ARYAN ELEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN VOGABULARIES—(Contd.)

Specimens of Sanskrit words in Dravidian disguised by changes in the initial or final consonants

It often happens that the relationship of Dravidian words to Sanskrit forms is disguised by a change in the initial, or the final, consonants and escapes notice altogether.

 (a) Initial r or l in Sanskrit or Aryan sometimes corresponds to n in Dravidian:

Sanskrit

Dravidian

län galam	'a plough'	Tam: nancil	'a plough',
15kanam	'sceing, per-	Tel: nākali Tam: nōkku	' sight'.
lalāma	'a sign, mark, or an orna- ment for the forchead'	Drav: nāmam	'a caste mark on the fore- head'.
talāṭam niṭala Pr: nalāḍa	forchead'.	Tel : netti Tam : nerri Kan: netti	'the head'. 'the forehead'. 'the forehead, the crown of the head'.
längülam (Foreign) langhör	'a tail ' 'an anchor'	Pāli: nanguṭṭham 'a tail ' 'an anchor'. 'Tam: nankūram	

In the above instances the relationship is obvious. The following instances are suggested on the same analogy.

Sanskrit

Dravidian

rastram 'a kingdom, a | T. : natu 'a country'. country ' roga ' a disease, an ailment ' 'it pains'. rwati

rak, tak (v.t.) ' taste'.

T.: noy, novu 'a disease'. novu, no (v.i.) ' pain'.

Tam. : nakku (v.t.) ' lick'.

Tel. naku 'lick'.

The word rastram becomes rattham in Pali and ratta may become lata through the loss of one of the 1's and the compensatory lengthening of a. Vide S. below. In 'lața desa' and in 'lärikë'11 of the Old Greek geographers which are the old names of the coast portion of Guzerat the word lat is said to be a corruption of rastra apparently through rata; the form lat may have given rise to the Dravidian natu.

- (b) Often the initial p, v, or b, in Sanskrit is replaced by m in Dravidian. Such a change takes place even in the Dravidian languages themselves,
 - (1) Tam: vāṇam, māṇam the sky, rain ; Tel: vāna: Kan: bān. These words arise from the Vedic māna. 'the aerial regions'.
 - (2) Tam: min 'the sky'; Tel: minnu.
 - (3) Tam: patti 'time' as in 'so many times'; Tel: māṭi, māṭu. All these words arise from the Sanskrit avytti having the same meaning.
 - (4) Tam: muli, vili, mili, the eye-ball'.
 - (5) Tam: vilunku, milunku (v.t.) 'swallow'.
 - (6) Tam: verul, miral be frightened, startled as a horse,

^{1.} Vide Lassen's explanation of 'larika 'quoted in L.A. Vol. XIII, page 345.

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- (7) Pr : vakula, bakula, makula 'a kind of flower tree'; Tam: makilam.
- (8) Tam: pannān 'a washerman'; Mal: pannān. mannan.
- (9) Tam: vinai 'an action, business'; Mal: vina, mina. The form minakketu 'idle away time' occurs also in Tamil.
- (10) Tam : vacūri 'small-pox'; S. masūrikā.
- (11) Tam: vanaiku; Kan: managu (v.i.) bend. be submissive'.
- (12) Tam : Mal : mtl, vil ' to return, to bring back ' connected with the S. dort ' to return'.
- (13) S. vandhyā, ' a barren woman '; Kan ; bañje; Tulu : bajji ; Mal : macci ; Tam : vandi,

There is no doubt about the identities in the above cases. The following identities are suggested on the same analogy.

Sanskrit

(i) brndam 'a collection ' Pr : vranda * a crowd.* (Var : vanda, iv-27.)

Dravidian

Tam : and Kan : Mandai 'a flock, a herd, a crowd '.

- (ii) varta 'a word, speech '
- Tam: marram 'a word. speech (vide S. below)'.
- (iii) varsa ' rain ', also mrs | Tel : mata. 'sprinkle'
 - Kan : matu. Tam : malai 'rain.'
- (iv) vamsa i. 'the bamboo' | Tam: mankil' the bamboo'. ii. 'a family, line, a race

Sanskrit

Dravidian

- (v) Hindi; bolt 'a word, a language'; Tam: moli 'a word, a language '.
- (vi) vyrddhi (=vi+rddhi).

Tam: miti ' poverty ' ' want '. This will become viddhi in Präkrt ' non-prosperity, ill-luck, misfortune'.

Telugu : bottigā ' completely, entirely'.

(vii) parta ' completed ' būrti ' completion '

murrilum 'entirely'. murru ' completion'.

(viii) varaya (v. t.) 'cover, marai (v. t.) 'hide, cover '. hide '

(ix) vāri 'water' vārida 'a māri 'rain'. cloud 'literally 'giver of water'

Note .- The words moli and marram stand isolated, there being no Dravidian roots from which they can be derived.

The word boll is said to arise from Sans : bril to speak, say'; this becomes mril in Persian.

(c) One of the peculiarities of Paisaci noticed by Vararuci (x. 4.) is that one of its particles of comparison is bira instead of the Sanskrit iva, e.g., kamalam piva mukham instead of kamalam iva mukham, 'a lotus-like face'. The reason for this appears to be the habit of pronouncing the final m as mp. Thus in Telugu all words ending in -mu may now be pronounced as if they ended in -mbu; a similar practice may have formerly obtained in Tamil to a more or less limited extent.

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Sanskrit

- 1. vyoma 'the sky '
- 2. dāman (n) 'a rope'
- 3. upadāma 'a short rope'
- 4. curnam1 + powder !
- 5. vlryam ' bravery '
- 6. śrama 'military exercise, drill'
- 7. kṛmi 'an ant '
- 8. ślēşma 'the phlegmatic humour'

Tamil

vicumpu ' the atmosphere'.

tampu 'a well-rope, a tether' camani 'long rope for tying cattle'.

tumpu 'a short rope attached to the long rope'.

cunnampu 'camphor powder' formerly; but now 'slaked lime'.1

vimpu' rivalry, swaggering'.

cilamp (am) ' fencing sword play', also cilamam.

egumpu ' an ant'.

irumal, also isumpal * coughing*.

(d) There is little or no change in some of the following tadbhavas, but they escape recognition owing to a difference in application and use.

Sanskrit

1. vatu ' a young man '

pôta 'the young of animals'

Tamil

vatu 'small tender mango berries'.

young of pottu a sapling .

Even now in the daily offerings to the deity the tāmbūla is described as karpūracūrņa-sanyuktam 'with eamphor powder'.

Sanskrit

- 3. S: kiñcit 'a little ' Pali : kiñci 'a little', kōci any, some
- 4. kula 'a clan, race '
- 5. mac (v. t.) 'grind, pound'
- 6. vae (v.t.) 'blame, censure' vācya blamable, censurable '

Prakrt: vacca

- 7. ucchr (v. t.) raise, be erected ' ucca ' high, raised '
- 8. kratu (Vedic) 'intention' purpose, design '
- 9. vahitram 'a boat, raft, *vodhram
- 10. droni a trough or tub

Păli: dâni 'a trough or boat'

11. bahu (adj.) "much. many ' bahumānam 'great respect, high esteem, a gift given by a superior to an inferior '

12. mah

Tamil

koncam 'a little'.

kulai Compare Kan : gole, gene ' a bunch'.

maci (v. t.) 'mash, food etc.' 'reduce to a thin pulpy consistence'.

vacai (subs. 'reproach, censure'. vacavu (subs.) ' abuse'. vai (v.t.) 'abuse.'

uyar (v. L) 'rise, be erected'.

karuttu 'intention, purpose, design'.

ōiam 'a boat, a raft'.

toni 'a boat, 'a raft '.

wku (adj.) ' many '. vekumanam 'regard, respect'. honour a gift as a mark of regard.

miku.

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The illustrative words given in this article and in articles 6 and 7 are enough to demonstrate that the statement, that there is no difficulty in recognising Sanskrit derivatives from the ancient Dravidian roots, involves a fundamental misconception. The further statement that the Tamil language can stand alone and dispense with the aid of Sanskrit altogether is equally erroneous. This statement of Bishop Caldwell, based doubtless on the opinions of Indians who did not know Sanskrit, has been very often repeated by people who have made no independent investigation of the subject. As a matter of fact, however, a very large number of words which Tamil scholars cherish as Cen-Tamil or pure Tamil have turned out on examination to be Aryan tadhhavas, very corrupt, vulgar tadbhavas. Things and men are judged by what they are, -not by what they were in the past and there is nothing degrading in a language beginning mainly with a stock of tadbhava words. The literary Prakrts, Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī, Māhārāstrī, etc., have had humble beginnings and originally consisted of nothing but low, corrupt, vulgar Sanskrit tadbhayas. Malayalam, which has now got a body of literature cherished by the people and which is the vehicle used for conveying religious, philosophical and scientific truths to millions of inhabitants, has, as we know, arisen from corrupt Tamil.

No systematic investigation has been made as to what percentage of the words till now regarded as pure Tamil can thus be shown to have a Sanskritic or Aryan origin and any estimate that can be ventured on this point will be more or less a guess. But considering

- (i) that a very large number of the commonest words and verbal bases, till now regarded as pure Dravidian, turn out to be Sanskrit talbhavas;
- (ii) that the Demonstrative and Interrogative pronouns have been derived from Aryan sources;

- (iii) and that most of the tense and modal suffixes used in Dravidian are of Aryan origin,—it may be safely presumed that the non-Aryan element in the vocabulary of the Dravidian languages will not be considerable.
- S. 9. ANALYSIS OF NON-PRONOMINALISED YERB-FORMS
 DRAVIDIAN: TAMIL, MALAYALAM, KANARESE AND TELUGU

The formation of Dravidian tense and moods is best illustrated by taking a number of verb-forms and analysing them into their component parts.

(1) Tamil present relative participle patikkira 'that reads' = pati+(k)+kiru+a.

Here pali -is a Dravidian verbal base; -kigu -is the Sanskrit root kg ' do ' used as an auxiliary and is a present-tense sign; and -a is the relative participle suffix with Aryan affinities, being in fact the remote demonstrative base -av with the final-v dropped."

(2) Tamil benedictive forms vali, valiya, valiyar as in the sentence vali vandan, valiya vandan, valiyar vandan, all meaning "long live the king". Vali—val+i; raliya=val+iya; valiyar=val+iya;

Here val "prosper, flourish" is a Dravidian verbal base; i, iya, iyar arise from imitating the intermediate syllables in the Vedic optative third person (middle voice):—

Singular	Dual	Plural
bhuñj-i-ta, 'may he eat'	bhuñj-fyā-tām may these two	bhuñj-ī(y) r-an ' may they eat'.
	cat'	

The long vowels in these syllables are shortened into i, iya, iyar and the forms vāļi, vāļiya, and vāļiyar are used indiscriminately in all persons and numbers. It is very

^{1.} Vide S. 16 (a) 'Aryan affinities of Dravidian Pronouns'.

probable that the final syllables of Vedic forms had already been lost in colloquial Aryan idioms from which the borrowing must have been made.

(3) Tamil conjunctive participle alaittu having invited =alai+(t)+tu.

Here alai 'invite' is a Dravidian verbal base; the suffix -tu is of Aryan origin, being a corruption of -tva.

(4) Malayalam future tense alikkum will destroy ali+(k) ku+m (common to all persons and numbers),

Here ali 'destroy' is a Dravidian verbal base; ku<kr 'do' is an acrist sign of Aryan origin which has latterly lost its force and is now a meaningless addition to the base in some moods and tenses; -m the sign of the future, is also of Aryan origin.

(5) Malayalam present tense kāṭṭunnu 'shows'=kāṇ+tu+kunnu (common to all persons and numbers).

Here kān 'see' is a Dravidian verbal base; -tu- is a causative suffix of Aryan origin as also kumu the sign of the present tense; the initial k- of kumu is clided as kāṭṭu is an unaccented base.

(6) Malayalam infinitives aliva (ancient form) alikka (modern form) 'to be destroyed '=ali+ku+a.

Here ali 'be destroyed' is a Dravidian verbal base;
-ku has the same origin as in example 4 and -a is an infinitive
suffix also of Aryan origin, the ancient form occurring in
books being apparently in imitation of Tamil which elides
the initial consonant of -ku; but in the popular speech of
Malabar this -k appears to be always retained in infinitive
forms.

(7) Kanarese conjunctive participle tinisi having caused to eat = tin+i+su+i. Here tin eat is a Dravidian verbal base; -i- is a causative suffix of Aryan-

origin, -iu- is the remnant of an Aryan conjunctive participle suffix which has latterly become an integral part of Kanarese causal bases, and -i is a conjunctive participle suffix of Aryan origin.

(8) Kanarese impersonal imperatives geyyali, geyyal let (him, her, it, them, me or us) do'=geyyu+ali, geyyui +ali.

Here geyyu 'do' is a Dravidian verbal base, all and ali appear to be derived from a Vedic gerundive suffix.

(9) Kanarese aorist (present-future) relative participles êgiswa, êgipa (Old Kanarese) 'which raises i.e., causes to rise '=ēgu+i+sa+pu+a, ēgu+i+pu+a.

Here \$\tilde{e}_{I}u^* rise ' is a Dravidian verbal base; -i-is an Aryan causative suffix, -m-has the same origin as in example No. 7 above, -pu- is the present-future sign of Aryan and -a is the relative participle suffix. In \$\tilde{e}_{I}uvu a the present future sign \$\phi\$ coming after an unaccented vowel has become softened to \$v.\$\text{1}\$

(10) Telugu imperative second person plural kottimpundu cause to be struck = kottu+i+pu+undu.

Here kottu 'strike' is a Dravidian verbal base; the causative suffix i the root extension suffix pu and the termination uudu are all of Aryan origin.

(11) Telugu subjunctive nadacinam if (1, we, you, he, she, it, they) walked =nada+en+in+an.

Here nada 'walk' is a Dravidian verbal base; -cuis a formative syllable of Aryan origin; -is- the sign of the past tense and -am the subjunctive suffix are also of Aryan origin.

(12) Telugu verbal noun cēyadamu doing =cēyu+

^{1.} Vide Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns .

SEC. 9] ANALYSIS OF NON-PRONOMINALISED VERB-FORMS

Here cēyu 'do' is a Dravidian verbal base; and adamu is a verbal noun suffix of Aryan origin.

In the above examples attention is mainly directed to the suffixes, which are considered to be of Aryan origin. The bases are referred to as Dravidian, not because it is admitted that they are of non-Aryan origin, but solely for the purpose of indicating that they were in use in Dravidian dialects as verbal bases at the time when the Aryan suffixes were first imitated or borrowed. As a matter of fact pati, val alai, ali, geyyu, êgu, kottu, nada, cêyu, tin are mostly corrupt Sanskrit tadbhavar.

The grammatical forms instanced in this article and, by implication, the vast majority of Dravidian grammatical forms will then be formations obtained by suffixing Aryan words and particles to Dravidian bases most of which are obviously of Indo-Aryan origin.

S. IO. SPECIMENS OF HYBRID FORMATIONS IN UNCULTI-VATED DRAVIDIAN

One obvious objection to the theory is that, although one language may borrow words from another language even on a very extensive scale, it never borrows its grammar in the wholesale manner indicated, and that this theory of hybrid formations is prima facis improbable. This objection does not take account of the circumstance that such borrowings are taking place at present before our eyes. The following instances of Dravidian borrowing may be cited from the pages of Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India.

(a) Gölari or Höliyä is a dialect of Kanarese spoken by Gölars or Gölkars,—a tribe of nomadic herdsmen in the Central Provinces, and by Höliyäs a low caste of leather workers in the same provinces (p. 385). The authors of the 'Linguistic Survey' are of opinion that in consequence of local corruptions resulting from intercourse with Aryan neighbours the dialect is not uniform everywhere (p. 385). The past tense is formed with the dental sign -t or -d, but the conjunctive participles in -tu or -du are very rare except in compound tense forms; in fact the dialect seems to have almost forgotten their use. In their stead it has formed new participles with the help of the suffixes ks and ko:—

mādke ' having made '; hōgyā ' having gone '; kaltkō ' having stolen '; ōdki ' having fun ';

tindks 'having eaten'. This is stated by the authors of the 'Linguistic Survey' to be due to the influence of the surrounding Aryan dialects (p. 387).

- (b) Göndī is the principal Dravidian language of Northern India and is spoken by about one million people (L.S. IV p. 472). It has no well-defined linguistic boundaries, the speakers being almost everywhere scattered among people employing other languages. In the North it meets with Eastern and Western Hindī and Rājasthānī, to the West we find Marāthī, to the South Telugu, to the East Telugu, Oriyā, Halabī, and Chattīsgarhī (p. 473).
- "All forms of Göndi abound in Aryan words; Aryan speech is gradually supplanting the old Dravidian language of the Gönds and it is probably only a question of time when Göndi shall have ceased to exist as an independent form of speech" (p. 485). The regular Göndi past tense kitān 'I did,' is formed by adding the same suffix -t- which occurs in the form -tt- in Tamil and -d- in Kanarese. The conjunctive participles are formed by adding ci or si to the root; these suffixes are often strengthened by an additional -kun which the editors of the Linguistic Survey say is probably of Aryan origin (p. 384).

Example: -kisi-kun ' having made '; huṛsi-kun ' having seen '; vdsi-kun ' having come '; iñji-kun ' having said'.

(c) Most of the Aryan vernaculars of Northern India form their conjunctive participles by adding -i- to the root; this -i- is a reduction of the Prakritic -ia- which arose from the Vedic -yā. From the habitual neglect of the final short vowels the participles often assume the form of the bare stem and it has become customary to strengthen these participles by affixing to them kari the conjunctive participle of the verb kr ' to do' (B.A.G. Vol. III, page 231). This kari becomes often kai, ks, kar; the usual substitution of ya for s produces kya, and other forms of kari occurring in the Aryan vernaculars are ki, ku, kō. Example:—

dekh-kari, dekhi-kari, dekhi-kë ' having seen ' ;
bharkai ' having filled ' ;
jā-kō ' having gone ' ; dōkki ' having concealed'.

It is these ki, $k\bar{u}$, $k\bar{e}$, $k\bar{o}$, that Gölari is stated to have adopted.

A few of the Aryan vernaculars of the North use kan or kane for strengthening the old conjunctive participles. Thus Nepālī has gart-kan 'having done,' khūt-kan 'having eaten '; bast-kan 'having sat'; Eastern Rājasthānī is said to reduplicate kane while Mārwārī is said to use kas-ne (H.G.G.S. 491). It is these suffixes that Gōndī is stated to be imitating when it adds kun to its conjunctive participles.

(d) Burgandi is a dialect of Tamil and is spoken by a vagrant tribe in Nimar and in the Central India Agency. The editors of the Linguistic Survey say that the dialect is apparently dying out (L.S. IV p. 343). Certain past tense forms in the language contain a suffix yo which the Editors surmise to be that of a past participle passive and that it is probably borrowed from Rājasthānī (p. 344). Example:—

¿leyős ' he went ' ; @geyős ' it happened ' ;
åkyő ' done ' ;
åängyőt ' I drove'.

It is usually stated that the Dravidian languages will be found in their greatest purity in localities far removed from civilized centres and that the Dravidian philologist in search of uncontaminated Dravidian forms should study the dialects of the aborigines living in the interior in jungles and in mountain fastnesses. This will be no doubt true if we were sure that the so-called aborigines have always inhabited the localities where we do find them. But this is not always the case.

(e) Kōta, the language of the Kōtas, a small tribe of helot craftsmen inhabiting the Nilgiri hills and exceedingly filthy in their habits may be mentioned in point. Bishop Caldwell considered their language as a very old and very rude dialect of Kanarese which was carried thither by a persecuted low caste tribe at some very remote period. On examining the vocabulary of the language however, we find that almost all their nouns end in . The personal and demonstrative pronouns also exhibit this peculiarity:— and 'I'; name 'we'; ni 'thou'; nice 'you'; avane 'he'; aware 'they' (epicene) the final sof which corresponds to the sof the Prākṛtic words hake, hage (=ahake) 'I', amhe 'we', tuphs 'you', se 'he' etc. This characteristic reminds one of

Vide lists of Kōṭa and Chentsu words in B. H. Hodgson's Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects. Vol. II (1880).

Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, page 512.

the Māgadhī Prākṛt described by Prākṛt grammarians, one of the peculiarities of which was that the nominative singular of its a bases ends in s as opposed to the Saurasēnī-ō. But this rule is not universally observed in any of the Prākṛts that have survived in literary works. The language of the Svētāmbara canonical works in which this and other Māgadhī characteristics are only partially observed is therefore called Ardhamāgadhī. The final s in the Kōṭa words shows that the dialect should have been influenced possibly by the old Māgadhī speaking Jains who emigrated to the Karnāṭa country in the fourth century B.C. in consequence of a severe famine in Magadha.

(f) Chentsu. The Chentsus of the Nallamalai hills in the Kurnool district are another instance in point. Mr. Gopalakrishna Chetti, the author of the Kurnool District Manual, considers them to be indigenous, probably the descendants of aboriginal savages, and has noted that they speak the language of the surrounding Telugu population. But the Muhammedan historian Ferishta, whom he refers to, has recorded that the language of the Chentsus could not be understood by their neighbours. The Chentsu words, of which we have a list collected in the last century, are obviously Hindl words. These facts lead to the inference that the original language of the Chentsus has died out and been replaced by Telugu. If these facts be admitted, it follows necessarily that the ancestors of these so-called aborigines must have come from the North, in the wake probably of a conquering army and, having been stranded in the midst of Dravidians, must have taken refuge in the hills and jungles and gradually reverted to barbarism.

CHAPTER II

WAS THERE A PRE-ARYAN SOUTH-INDIAN CIVILIZATION?

S. 11. THE TESTIMONY OF THE PERIPLUS

We have to draw attention in this chapter to the speculations of some eminent Orientalists and Dravidian scholars of the last century on the occurrence of some supposed South-Indian words in Hebrew and in Greek, and to the inferences drawn from these words in regard to the culture attained by the primitive Dravidians. A large amount of new linguistic and archaeological material has since come to light which tends to throw doubt on the conclusions arrived at by these Orientalists and Dravidian scholars. But writers who have made no independent investigation of the subject still continue to repeat these overdrawn estimates of pre-Aryan culture, often without the limitations and qualifications subject to which the estimates were originally made. Fanciful and grossly exaggerated accounts in regard to the nature and extent of this culture are now current not only among patriotic South-Indians but also among a class of English historians of South-India who take their cue from the late M. Kanakasabhai Pillai's book entitled The Tamils, Eighteen Hundred Years Ago (1904). The belief that the primitive Dravidians had attained a considerable degree of culture before the arrival of the Arvans in India and the notion that the Dravidian dialects have produced deep and organic changes in Sanskrit phonology, vocabulary and grammar are at the root of many a deep-seated misconception now current in regard to the Dravidian languages; and it is impossible to determine the true affinities of these languages unless the misconceptions are removed at the outset.

The second of these questions, viz., the changes alleged to have been brought about in Sanskrit phonology and grammatical structure by the influence of Dravidian dialects, have been examined in the last chapter. It is proposed to devote the whole of this chapter to an investigation of the first of these questions and to subject to a rigid test the evidences adduced in support of a pre-Aryan South-Indian civilization.

In forming an estimate of things pre-historical, we have in most cases necessarily to rely on the merest shadow of a probability; nevertheless, we have to take into account all the available materials likely to influence that estimate.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, an anonymous work in Greek supposed by some to have been written in the 1st century A.D., and by others to have been begun in the 1st century but added to by subsequent writers and finally completed in the 3rd century, contains " the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman Empire"1. Mr. McCrindle, a translator of the work, says that there is internal evidence that the author was a merchant of Egypt and that the work was mot a mere compilation from the narratives or journals of other merchants and navigators, but that probably the author had himself visited some of the seats of trade which he has described. This is also clearly the opinion of Mr. W. H. Schoff who, in the introduction to his translation of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, refers to it as "this plain and painstaking log of a Greek in Egypt, a Roman subject, who steered his vessel into the waters of the great ocean and brought back the first detailed record of the imports and exports of its markets and of the conditions and alliances of its peoples". The work is frequently referred to as an authority in all discussions about the trade relations between the East and the West in ancient times.

^{1.} McCrindle's Translation in the L.A. Vol. VIII, page 107 et seq.

One material fact of far reaching consequences whichcomes to light even on a cursory perusal of the work is that, in the pre-Christian centuries and up to about the time of Pliny (who died in 79 A.D.), the trade between Arabia and the Indian ports-i.e., by implication the trade between the European countries and Indian ports, was performed in small vessels which kept close to shore, and followed its: windings; this will be evident from para, 57 of the Periplus1. But a little before the time of Pliny, one Hippalos, by observing the bearing of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct route across the Arabian sea by taking advantage of the South-West monsoon; and at the time when. the Periplus was written, this direct route was usually taken by vessels trading between Egypt and India. It is. needless to remark here that, when the trade was carried on by coasting vessels, there would have sprung up entrepots in Arabia, in Persia and in Sindh; and that, when foreign names. of merchandise got naturalized in European languages, itis the names current in the entrepots, and not necessarily the names at the places of production, that would have been sonaturalized.

- a. Pearls:—In para, 35 of the work reference is made to, much diving for the pearl-mussel '2 at the mouth of the Persian Gulf; from para, 36 it appears that the pearls were inferior in quality to the Indian pearls but that great quantities of them were exported to Arabia and Borygaza (Broach)!!-
- b. Gold:—From para. 36 of the work it also appears that gold was exported from the ports of Apologos and Omana in Persia to Barygaza (Broach); para. 56 says that a great quantity of coin was imported into the Malabar ports, and it

Vide also Mc Grindle's Introduction (I.A. Vol. VIII, page 108).

very many pearl fisheries' according to McCrindle's.

translation.

appears from para. 49 that gold and silver coin was imported into Barygaza to be exchanged at a profit for the coin of the country. Para. 38 mentions a port Barbarikon in southern Sindh on one of the mouths of the Indus, but para. 39 mentions gold and silver plate among the imports of this place and not among its exports, though gold was found far up the Indus.

- e. Rice, Pippali—Pepper: It may also be noted here that according to the Periplus the only Indian port from which rice (royza) was exported was Barygaza (Broach); this was also the only port from which pippali (piper longum) was exported. Pepper (piper nigrum) was exported only from the Malabar ports.
- d. At page 227 of this translation of the Periplus Mr. W. H. Schoff at the end of his notes on the articles traded in by the author of the Periplus quotes the following extract from a letter by the Zamorin of Calicut to the King of Portugal, carried by Vasco da Gama on his return from India fourteen centuries later: "In my Kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet."

Of the abovementioned Malabar products of the XVth century A.D.:—

- Cloves—lavangam—(Caryophyllon) were not indigenous to India and were probably not known in this country much before the 5th century A.D. (Watt, 1 page 627).
- Ginger (zingiber) is not mentioned in the Periplus
 as an article of export though supposed to be indigenous to
 the Malabar coast. "It is not known in a truly wild state,
 but is doubtless a native of tropical south-east Asia" (Watt,
 page 1139).
- Cinnamon. Only malabathron, the leaf Laurus-Cassia, is mentioned in the Periplus.
 - 1. Watt's Commercial Products of India, Birds,



- 4. Pepper. Mr. W. N. Schoff says (page 213) "The antiquity of the trade in pepper is not so easily shown as that in other spices. There is no certain mention of it in the Egyptian inscriptions. In the Hebrew scriptures it is unknown, nor has it a place among the mint and anise and cummin of the Gospels. Herodotus has no bit of folklore to attach to it. Theophrastus indeed in the 4th century B.C. knows it as a medicine and Dioscorides distinguishes between black, white and long pepper."
- S. 12. PROFESSOR MAX MULLER ON SOME FOREIGN WORDS IN THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES
- "And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones." I. Kings X-11.
- "And the king made of almug trees pillars for the house of the Lords, and for the king's house harps also and psalteries, for singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day." I. Kings X-12.
- "For the king had at sea a navy of Thurshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Thurshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks." I. Kings X-22.

The above is repeated practically in the same words in II. Chronicles X-10, 11, 22; but what appears as Almug in the Kings appears as Algum in the Chronicles, the exact transliteration of the Hebrew forms being almuggion and algummim; these words are interpreted as meaning 'sandal wood'. The word for 'pea-cock' in Hebrew Text is tuki or tāki. The Hebrew words for 'ivory' appear to be karnoth shen (the horn of tooth) and then habbim (tooth of Habb), and that for apes is kôf. It is admitted on all hands that almug or algum, tuki or tāki, habb, and kôf are all foreign words in Hebrew.

In his Lectures on the Science of Language, Professor Max Muller drew attention to the occurrence of these foreign words in the Hebrew text, and discussed their significance. He thought that Ophir of the Bible was in Southern Sindh where Ptolemy placed a district called Abiria immediately above Patalene and where Hindu Geographers located a people called Abhira or Abhira, his view being that the name Abhira was corrupted into Ophir by Pheonician and Jewish merchants. He was also of opinion that habb was a corruption of the Sanskrit ibha ' elephant', that tuki was ultimately traceable to the same as the Sanskrit sikht (sikhin) " peacock," that kof was the same as the Sanskrit kapi 'monkey' and that algum was a corruption of the Sanskrit valguka 'sandalwood'. "All these articles" he argued, "ivory, gold, apes, peacocks, are indigenous in India, though of course they might have been found in other countries likewise, not so the algum tree at least, if the interpreters are right in taking algum or almug for sandal-wood. Sandal-wood is found indigenous in the coast of Malabar only, and one of its numerous names there and in Sanskrit is valguka. This valgu[ka] is clearly the name which Jewish and Phoenician merchants corrupted into algum and which in Hebrew was still further corrupted into almug." And the conclusion which he drew from the occurrence of these supposed corrupt Sanskrit names in the Books of Kings was that so early as the time of Solomon (10th century B.C.) Sanskrit language had extended to Southern Sindh and even the Malabar coast.

As already remarked, the testimony of the Periplus that gold was not exported from Barbarikon or from any Indian port is a fatal objection to the location of *Ophir* in India, and it is now admitted by many scholars that this place must be located in Arabia; it is also generally agreed that habb and kôf are not derived from Sanskrit but from the Egyptian language. We have thus left only tûki and algum which, however, Bishop Caldwell claims as Dravidian.

S. 13. LIST OF WORDS ADDUCED BY BISHOP CALDWELL AND OTHERS AS EVIDENCES OF A PRE-ARYAN SOUTH INDIAN GULTURE

For the purpose of ascertaining the degree of civilization attained by the Tamils prior to the advent of the Aryans in South India, Bishop Caldwell made a detailed analysis of the accounts of India given by Ctesias, Megasthenes and Arrian, Ptolemy's Geography, Pliny's Natural History, the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, the accounts of travellers and stray references to India and matters Indian, contained in the works of classical writers. The results of his examination are summarised in the Introduction to his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. They may be arranged under the two heads:—

- Dravidian names of articles of commerce adopted in foreign languages; and
- Dravidian names of South Indian towns and tribes occurring in the works of classical writers.

A. NAMES OF ARTICLES ADDUCED BY BISHOP CALDWELL

1. Hebrew tuki or tūki: Bishop Caldwell objected to Professor Max Muller's derivation of these words from the Sanskrit word sikhin 'peacock' on the ground that the latter was already represented in Tamil by the tadbhava ciki and contended that they were derived from the Tamil-Malayalam word tōkai which ordinarily meant 'a tail' in modern Tamil but was used for the peacock itself in the old Tamil poems. He also asserted that a dialectic pronunciation of tōkai was tōgai from which he derived Arabic tawas, Greek taōs, Latin pavo and English paa- (fowl), and contended that the word tōkai itself was derived from the verbal base tok or tōk, tuk or tūk 'hang' which, he said, was made up of the ultimate root \(\nu \) tō or \(\nu \) to \(+-ko \) or \(ku \) a formative addition. Referring to this derivation Professor Max Muller remarked "if this etymology be right, it would be an important confirmation

of the antiquity of the Tamulic languages spoken in India before the advent of the Aryan tribes". Bishop Caldwell quotes this remark in the Introduction to his Comparative Grammar and observes in his usual manner "I have no doubt this etymology is right and that the inference deduced from it is well founded." (Introduction: C.D.G. page 92).

- 2. Hebrew algum or almug: Bishop Caldwell accepted Professor Max Muller's derivation of these words from the Sanskrit valguka 'sandal-wood' another meaning of which is 'beautiful': and expressed the opinion that valguka itself 'seems to be identical with, or derived from, the Tamil-Malayalam alaku or alaku 'beauty' (Ibid., page 92).
- 3. Hebrew ahalim or ahaloth 'Aquilaria Agallocha': Proverbs VII, 17 etc.; here the harlot is represented as saying to the brainless young man "I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon". The words in the Hebrew text for 'aloes,' appear as ahalim and ahaloth.

There are two Indian words with which ahalim could have been identified, viz., the Sanskrit agaru (a-guru 'not heavy') and the Tamil akil pronounced ahil. Bishop Caldwell prefers to derive it from the latter rather "than from the Sanskrit agaru though both are ultimately identical" the probable reason being that the Hebrew transliteration showed a h (Ibid. page 92).

4. Greek oryza 'rice': "It cannot be doubted "Bishop Caldwell says "that we have here the Tamil arici 'rice, deprived of the husk,' this being the condition in which rice was then, as now, brought up in India for export " (Ibid. page 92).

Dr. Kittel goes further and derives the Sanskrit wihi itself from Dravidian (No. 126 in the Preface to his Dictionary). "This term (wihi) being without a perceivable root in Sanskrit is no doubt connected with the Dravidian akki

(or arki, Tamil arici; Malayalam ari; Tulu ari, akki) and Telugu vari. The syllable vri is the same as Telugu vari and syllable hi has been formed of Kanarese and Tulu ki and Tamil ci. In common Tamil the Sanskrit word with is written viriki; Tamil k often stands in the place of h.".

Here Dr. Kittel seems to construct a hypothetical pro-Dravidian *variki or *varigi from which, he says, the Sanakrit with is derived. If we ask why not assume with itself, an actual word, as the original instead of constructing a hypothetical form, the reply will probably be 'How could a Dravidian product have an Aryan name?' Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyangar goes one step further than Dr. Kittel and asserts that with is the Sanskritised form of arici itself.

5. Ctesias's karpion: Bishop Caldwell says:—"The earliest Dravidian word in Greek of which we know the date was karpion, Ctesias's word for cinnamon. Herodotus describes cinnamon as 'the karpheas (dry sticks) which we after the Phoenicians call kinnamonon'. Liddel and Scott say:— 'the word bears a curious likeness to its Arabic name kerfat, kirfah'. This resemblance must, I think, be accidental seeing that Herodotus considered 'cinnamon' alone as a foreign word..... The word mentioned by Ctesias seems, however, to have a real resemblance to the Arabic word and also to a Dravidian one."

This word, Bishop Caldwell adds, is "karuppu or kārppu c.g., Malayalam karappa-(t)-tailam oil of cinnamon", and that "other forms of this word are karappu, karuva, karava the last of which is the most common form in Tamil." These words he derives from the Tamil-Malayalam word karublack, pungent remarking that the latter meaning "doubtless supplies us with the explanation of karuppu cinnamon".

It must be mentioned here that the word karpion is not a word used by the Greeks at any time, but is a representation by Ctesias in Greek characters of the name which he pretends, and is supposed, to have heard from his Persian informants, as that of a resinous Indian tree. Also that 'einnamon' was not one of the exports from the Malabar ports in the time of the Periplus and that the name karpion or anything resembling it does not occur at all in that work.

6. Greek ziggiberis 'ginger'.

This word is generally believed to come from the Sanskrit srngabera, Pali singivera through the Arabic zanzabil (Watt's Com. Products, page 1139). But Bishop Caldwell accepts Dr. Gundert's view that the Tamil-Malayalam word inii or inci must have originally begun with as s- as the Kanarese parallel word is sunti. It is stated that "inci 'ginger would naturally take the addition of eer the Dravidian word for root" (C.D.G. page 465). Dr. Burnell accepted this view and said "inci was probably in an earlier form of the language sinci as we find it still in Kanarese sunti. Ginger is chiefly exported even now from Malabar and in earlier times the Greeks procured it almost exclusively from that province, so that there is every probability that the word is Dravidian, not Sanskrit. If we look at the form of the Sanskrit word, it is impossible to doubt that it is a foreign word altered by the Brahmins who by their pedantry disguise all they meddle with" (I.A. Volume I, page 352).

The final conclusion of these scholars was that the word zingiber came from the assumed Dravidian word zincuer (ginger root) and that śrńgabera was homophonous Sanskrit for the Dravidian word.

Here a hypothetical pro-Tamil citiever is constructed from which the Greek ziggibens is stated to have been derived. If we ask why not adopt the actual word in Pali viz., singiverum, as the original, the reply would probably be 'How could a Dravidian product have an Aryan name?" B. NAMES OF TRIBES AND PLACES GIVEN BY BESHOP CALDWELL

In regard to the names of places and tribes Bishop Caldwell found that the word Tamil itself was derived from the Sanskrit word Dravida, and remarked that "a similar peculiarity meets us with regard to almost all the names of South Indian peoples—Côlas, Kēraļas, Āndhras, Kalingas etc., which so far as is known at present, are Sanskrit, not Dravidian. The word Karnāṭaka alone appears to have a Dravidian origin." The word Karnāṭaka is claimed by Brahmin Pandits to be Sanskrit, but Bishop Caldwell agrees with Dr. Gundert in deriving Karnāṭa from the Dravidian kūr-nāṭu black country'.

In regard to the names of places he remarks that "the names given by Ptolemy proved that the Brahmins had by that time established themselves at various points in the Karnatic and given names to some of the principal localities." The following words are admitted to be Sanskritic:—

Madoura, 'Madura';

Pāndae, 'Pāndiyas';

Pāndion, 'Pāndiyan';

Komaria, (Cape) 'Comorin'; probably also

Kory, 'Kôṭi'; perhaps also

Khaberis, 'Kāvēri'.

As many as twenty-four of the places mentioned had names ending in -our or -oura the Dravidian word meaning 'town'. Bishop Caldwell also noted that the form Pandion and still better the plural from Pandiones faithfully represented the Tamil masculine termination -an as distinguished from the old Kanarese termination -am and the Telugu termination -udu.

It will be shown below that -an, -am, -alu arise from the Indo-Irainan -ant.

SEC. 14] NAMES OF ARTICLES—OTHER SCHOLARS

- S. 14. NAMES ADDUCED BY OTHER DRAVIDIAN SCHOLARS
- Sanskrit pippali 'long pepper', vide No. 107 in the 'Preface to Dr. Kittel's Kanarese-English Dictionary.

Dr. Gundert appears to take this word to be pippala and to explain it as meaning 'great excellent fruit,' Dravidian piri (Kan. hiri) being 'great'. But Dr. Kittel thinks that much dependence cannot be placed in this derivation; and suggests that if tippali which is the Dravidian equivalent of pippali could be the original form, then Dravidian tin 'irritation' may be thought of as furnishing the root syllable.

All scholars agree that pippali is the original of the Greek peperi and we may therefore ignore the suggestion that tippali may be the original form of the word. Dravidian scholars have not stopped to enquire why there is a 'r' in the Greek form instead of a 'l', why there were no exports of pippali from the Malabar ports even so late as the time of the Periplus and why such exports were confined at that time to Barygaza (Broach).

- Sanskrit marica, marica, vēllaja 'black pepper'. In No. 113 in the Preface to Dr. Kittel's Dictionary it is stated:—
- "Dr. Gundert says that marica, is connected with Telugu miriya, Tamil milaku 'black pepper'. There cannot be the least doubt about it. See Dravidian melasu etc., marica and vēllaja (not to be derived from a vēlla) are identical with marica. The leading idea is unknown."

It will have been noted from the remarks made already the pepper was probably unknown to the Greeks before the 4th century B.C.

- 3. Sanskrit mukta 'a pearl'. In No. 73 in the Preface to Dr. Kittel's Dictionary it is stated:—
- "Dr. Gundert, arguing that Tamil fishermen had not waited for the Aryan tradesmen to give a name to the most precious object caught by them in their profession, believes

that the Aryans adopted the now so-called Dravidian tadbhava multu (mōti) 'a pearl 'and attached an etymology to it that somehow suited their own ideas. He thinks multu to mean "the first or best" (of gems) connecting it with the Dravidian multu (mutal 'first'). Dravidian mūlika, however, may be compared and the meaning be 'the immersed one,' but as the original idea cannot be fixed, one must be content with saying that muktā appears to have been borrowed from Dravidian."

But Dr. Gundert and Kittel seem to have been unaware of the existence of pearl-fisheries at the mouth of the Persian gulf which were much nearer the Punjab, the seat of the earliest Aryan settlements in India, than the Kolkhoi pearl-fisheries. Surely the Aryans, who had connections with Assyria even in the 14th century B.C., knew pearls produced so near their settlements and had a name for the article before they ever heard of the Kolkhoi fisheries. If the Sanskrit muktā and the Dravidian muttu are related, the probability is that the latter was derived from the former.

Para. 59 of the Periplus says :--

"From Komari towards the south this region extends to Kolkhoi where the pearl-fisheries are; (they are worked by condemned criminals); and it belongs to the Pandiyan Kingdom." Though there were tribes of fishermen on the coast, there were apparently as yet no professional divers in the time of the Periplus and condemned criminals had to be employed for diving for pearl-oysters, a perilous occupation in waters infested by sharks. Mr. Schoff quotes Marco-Polo who says that the sharks had to be charmed away and that the "fish-charmers are termed Abraiaman (Brahmans)." "There can be little doubt" says Mr. Schoff "that this kind of protection was sought by the divers at the time of the Periplus, and Yule observed it still in force, one of the Brahmans exercising this ancestral office being a Christian".

SEC. 15] CALDWELL'S PICTURE OF PRIMITIVE DRAVIDIANS

He infers from these circumstances that the Kolkhoi pearlfishing industry "dates from a time after the Aryan invasion of Southern India" (Schoff's Periplus, pages 240, 241), Shark-charms are considered necessary even at the present day (Encycl. Britt).

It would seem therefore that the Kolkhoi fishermen did wait for the Aryans to come south and teach them the art of diving for pearl-oysters. If this is a justifiable inference, there will be nothing surprising in 'pearls' having a Sanskrit name.

It may be mentioned in passing that there was another art, that of training and teaching elephants, which the Dravidians did not know till the Indo-Aryans came and settled amongst them. For an old Tamil work says that the language in which the elephants were given directions was vatamafi "Northern language" (i.e.) Sanskrit.

S. 15. BISHOP CALDWELL'S PICTURE OF PRIMITIVE DRAVIDIANS. ARYAN CIVILIZATION OF THE SOUTH

 The words given in the two preceding articles are the most important of those that have been adduced as evidences of a pre-Aryan Dravidian civilization in Southern India; and the discussion under each word clearly brings out the mental attitude and prepossessions with which the question was approached by the great Dravidian scholars of the last century who originated the current theories about Dravidian languages.

These scholars appear to have been deeply impressed by the circumstance that Tūki and Algum, supposed to be corruptions of Tamil words, had found their way into Hebrew so early as the time of Solomon, and Bishop Caldwell seems to have thought Ophir was in South India or thereabouts; for he says:— "It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phoenicians and Solomon's servants in their voyage down the Malabar coast towards Ophir (wherever Ophir may have been) or at least have taken part in the trade." (Intro. C.D.G., page 122). From this maritime trade with the West so early as the tenth century B.C. these scholars argued that the Tamils had attained a considerable degree of culture before the arrival of the Aryans in the South and they could not conceive how any special product of South India could have an Aryan name in its native home.

Thus in regard to 'ginger' and 'rice' for instance, the names current in the European languages and in the Dravidian languages of Southern India indicate that the original forms giving rise to the names must have been something like Sinciver and variki or variji. Instead of accepting the actual Pali singiveram and the Sanskrit with as the originals, these scholars construct the hypothetical words sinciper and variki from which they derive ' not only the current Dravidian words but also the Pali and the Sanskrit forms on the ground that these products of the South must have been familiar to the Dravidians before the arrival of the Aryans, and that the latter must have adopted the Dravidian words. So also in regard to words like marks ' black pepper,' muktā ' pearl ' etc., these scholars are positive that Sanskrit must have borrowed and transformed Dravidian words. Here a pre-Aryan Drayidian culture is assumed and is brought forward to support the Dravidian origin of the words ariei, iñei, milaku, multu etc.; the present-day writers, on the contrary, assume the Dravidian origin of the words and they adduce these as evidences of a pre-Aryan civilization.

Another noteworthy feature is that the Aryan civilization of the South is not conceived by these scholars to have been the result of any large movements of population from the North to the South, but to have been brought about by a number of small colonies of Aryans, chiefly Brahmans, settled in the midst of the Dravidians. Bishop Caldwell speaks of the Brahmans having established themselves at various points in the Carnatic by the beginning of the Christian era. According to him the earliest Dravidian civilization in the South was that of the Tamils of the Pandya kingdom; he says that "This civilization was probably indigenous in its origin but seems to have been indebted for its rapid development at so early a period to a succession of small colonies of Aryans chiefly Brahmans"; and that "the leader of the first or the most influential Brahmanical colony was Agastya whose date is placed between the age of the Rāmāyaṇa and that of the Mahābhātata" (Intro. C.D.G. pages 119, 220);

"Though the primitive Dravidians were probably unacquainted with the higher arts of life, they do not appear to have been by any means a barbarous or degraded people. Whatever may have been the condition of the first tribes, it cannot be doubted that the Dravidians properly so called had acquired at least the elements of civilization prior to the arrival amongst them of Brahmans." (Ibid, page 117).

The assumption that the Aryan civilization of the South was effected by small colonies of Aryans, chiefly Brahmans who adopted the speech of the Dravidians, is irreconcilable with the theory put forward in the present book in regard to the cultivated Dravidian languages. If these languages were originally non-Aryan, the extensive changes that have taken place in them even in the popular dialects, could only have resulted from an influx of large bodies of Aryan speaking (not necessarily Aryan from an ethnical point of view) immigrants from the North.

(3) From the evidence of words in use among the early Tamils Bishop Caldwell¹ has drawn a picture of the Primitive

Bishop Caldwell does not give the Tamil words he relies on. These have been supplied within brackets wherever obvious,

Dravidians in which he says among other things, "They had kings (Tam: kō) who dwelt in 'strong houses' and ruled over small districts of country [Tam: natu). They had 'minstrels' ('Fam ; panar), who recited 'songs' (Tam ; pattu) at ' festivals' (Tam : cdru) and they seem to have had alphabetical 'characters' (Tam: eluttu) written with a style on palmyra leaves. A bundle of these leaves was called 'a book '(Tam : cuvati); they were without hereditary 'priests' and 'idols' and appear to have had no idea of 'heaven' or 'hell,' of 'soul' or 'sin'; but they acknowledged the existence of God whom they called ko or king-a realistic title little known to orthodox Hinduism. They created to his honour a temple which they called kō-y-il (God's house). They had 'laws' and 'customs' (valakkam, marapu) but no 'lawyers' or 'judges'. Marriage (manam, mangal, varaiou) existed among them. They were acquainted with the ordinary metals, (pop, velli, compu, irumpu) with the exception of tin, lead and zine; with planets which were ordinarily known to the ancients, (nayiru, tinkal, cevedy, viyalan, celli) with the exception of Mercury and Saturn. They had medicines (maruntu), hamlets and towns (ar, pati, patianam) but no cities; canoes, boats and even ships, (otam, toni, palaku, kappal) but no foreign commerce; no acquaintance with any people beyond sea except in Ceylon; and no word expressive of the geographical idea of 'island' or 'continent'. They were well acquainted with 'agriculture' (vēļānmai) and delighted in 'war' (por). They were armed with 'bows' (vil), 'arrows' (ampu, kanai) and 'spears' (vēl, 11ti). All the necessary or ordinary arts of life including spinning (nürral), weaving (neytal) and dycing (cāyam) existed among them. They excelled in pottery (pāṇai, tāli) but were unacquainted with higher arts. They had no acquaintance with 'sculpture' or 'architecture'; with 'astronomy' or even 'astrology'; and were ignorant not only of every branch of 'philosophy' but even of 'grammar' (*Ibid.* pages 117-118).

The above modest picture may be contrasted with the claim made at the present day by some persons who speak of the Dravidian contribution to the civilization of the world. Even this comparatively unpretentious account exhibits pre-Aryan Southern India as a country teeming with millions, living in organised communities under petty chiefs and engaged in agriculture, industry and trade, inland as well as coasting; but it is doubtful whether this is justified by the earliest accounts that we have of South-India in the Rāmāyana and in the face of the evidence of Archaeology that, when the Aryans arrived in the South, the Dravidians were in the Stone Age of culture and were unacquainted with the use of metals. There might have been an agriculture of some sort, but the control over the forces of nature must have been very limited and the land could have supported only a sparse population. However this may be, it must be admitted that the evidence offered in regard to the social condition of primitive Dravidians and the method of proof adopted are unexceptionable; for if these Dravidians were well acquainted with agriculture and other ordinary industries, the products of these industries must now have Dravidian names and the products in which South India had a monopoly for long ages must also be known to the world by their Dravidian names. We shall presently put this evidence to the test.

S. 16. Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillal

Numerous writers have written about South India and its Dravidian inhabitants since the time of Bishop Caldwell and it will be difficult to find even one of them who has not quoted that great orientalist as his authority for his statements. But it has happened nevertheless that the modest picture which Bishop Caldwell gave of the pre-Aryan Dravidian culture has gradually expanded till it has now become a highly developed civilization of considerable proportions. It will be needless to trace the various steps in this process of exaggeration, but we may give one or two typical instances.

Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, the author of 'The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago,' was a Tamil scholar of note and was the first to bring to the notice of the Englishknowing public the contents of many of the classics of the Cankam Period. He was also the first to point out that there was no Cochin backwater at the beginning of the Christian era, that the eastern coast of the present backwater was then the sea coast and that Kartir, the old Kerala capital, was not the modern Kartir on the banks of the Amaravati, but the ruined Tirukkarür on the banks of the Periyar. He has also otherwise added to our knowledge of the conditions of Malabar in those early days, but his intense patriotism appears to have biassed his conclusions and his account of the various component elements of the population of South India and of Tamil civilization can only be described as a few facts diluted with a great deal of imagination.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai says in his book :-

"The oldest of the tribes who dwelt in the Tamilakam were the Villavar and the Minavar literally how-men and fisher-men."

"These semi-barbarous tribes were conquered by the Nagas, who were a very numerous and civilized race, and who at one time or other ruled a great portion of India, Ceylon and Burma. They are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Nāga Capital, which probably lay in the heart of Dakhan, is described in that epic." (page 39). This description is accepted practically in full by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, page 595, where it is stated:

"To the oldest stratum of pre-Dravidian blood belonged the savages termed by the ancient poets Villavar (bow-men) and Minavar (fisher-men) of whom the former may be identical with the modern Bhils, while the latter may have descendants in the Minas. Another group is that termed by the poets Nagas, a word which in Hindu literature commonly denotes a class of semi-divine beings, half-men and half-snakes, but is often applied by Tamil writers to a warlike race with bows and nooses and famous as free-booters."

Mr. V. A. Smith, the historian, also accepts the statement that *Villavars* and *Mtyavars* formed the most ancient elements in the South Indian population.

That the ancient poets termed any savages Villavars and Minavars appears to be an addition of Dr. Barnett since it is not found in Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's book. The ancient poets did not know of, or refer to, any savages named Villavar or Minavar nor did they make any distinction among the population of South India as old inhabitants and new immigrants. The account of the conquest of South India by the Nagas and of the civilization of these conquerors is wholly a creation of Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's imagination, as also the interpretation bow-men and fisher-men.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai was apparently of opinion that the higher caste Tamils were a superior people quite apart from the rest of the Tamil population and from the Telugu and Kanarese people. He therefore asserted that these higher caste Tamils were later immigrants and thought that the peculiar letter p of the Tamil alphabet was doubtless brought in by these immigrants. He says in his book:—

"This letter, I understand, occurs only in some of the Tibetan languages. It indicates most clearly that the primitive home of the Tamil immigrants must have been in the Tibetan plateau. That they were not of Aryan descent is proved not only by the continued antagonism they displayed towards the Arvans, but also by the ancient Sanskrit works in which the Dravidas are spoken of as an alien people. That the Tamils had attained a high degree of civilization before the advent of the Aryans is established indisputably by the fact that the pure Tamil language is so copious and exact that it can do well without borrowing Sanskrit words. In fact, in the ancient Tamil classical works, the terms relating to music, grammar, astronomy and even abstract philosophy are of pure Tamil origin; and they indicate most clearly that those sciences were cultivated by the Tamils long before the arrival of the Brahmans or other Aryan immigrants. The Tamils obtained a knowledge of these sciences most probably from China, through Bengal or Burma, with both of which countries they had direct and constant intercourse." (pages 51, 52).

As the pure Tamil words relating to music, grammar, astronomy and even abstract philosophy, which Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai relies on, are not mentioned by him, it is unnecessary to examine that question here. Such statements are freely indulged in by people who have no knowledge of Sanskrit. It must, however, be mentioned that the sound I was however very common in old Kanarese, as common as in Tamil, and Telugu scholars have traced I in some Telugu inscriptions.

There are several other things of a similar nature in Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's book which may be mentioned here:—

 (i) He locates the city—Bhōgavati—of the Rāmayaṇa, the Nāga Capital (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, sarga 41) in Dakhan. It is clear from the epic itself that it is near the southern end of the earth, across the Indian and Southern oceans, only one side on this stage of the abode of the departed souls presided over by Yama. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai is apparently thinking of the modern city of Nagpur.

- (ii) "It was from the Nāgas that the Aryans first learnt the art of writing; and hence the Sanskrit characters came to be called Dēvanāgarī" (page 45).
- (iii) "Tamil had, indeed, one advantage over Kanarese and Telugu, and this lay in the circumstance that its literary cultivation by the Aryan immigrants led by Agastya began a few centuries earlier."

But Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai thinks that the tradition of Agastya leading the first colony of Aryans into the Podiya Hills does not deserve credence and Dr. Barnett agrees with him. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's reason for discrediting the tradition is that, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, the hermitage of Agastya was only two yōjanas from Pañcavati, on the banks of the Godāvarī. He, therefore, thinks that the story of the Agastya of the Podiyal Hills must have been of later growth—after the Brahmans had gained ascendancy in the South; and Dr. Barnett agrees in this view.

This criticism of the Agastya legend is not conclusive. Sargas 40-43 of the Kişkindhā Kāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa in which Sugrīva gives instructions to the Vānara chiefs sent in search of Sitā are an interpolation which displays a knowledge of the geographical and other details, especially of Southern India, which were unknown to the original author of the poem. To him the peninsula south of the Gōdāvarī was a blank as no rivers or kingdoms south of the Gōdāvarī are mentioned in the original Rāmāyaṇa. If Rāma crossed the sea at Rāmesvaram, he must have crossed the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Kāvērī on his way and must have passed though the Gōla and the Pāndya kingdoms; but these are not mentioned anywhere

in the epic except in the Sarga in which Sugrīva gives instructions. But the original author knew that Agastya lived somewhere in the south, that a stranger could not reach his hermitage without a guide, and that he had to pass by, or in sight of, pippalī forests¹ on the way. The mention of pippalī forests is conclusive on the point and clearly shows that the original writer knew that Agastya's hermitage was somewhere in the south past the pepper forests of Malabar, but had no clear conception of the distance. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's criticism thus falls to the ground. It will also be noted that the interpolated sarga 41 correctly locates Agastya on the top of Malaya near the Tāmraparni.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Piliai also imagined that the Limirike, Dymirike, Damirike of the Greek writers was a transliteration of the Tamilakam.

Before accepting the identification we may ask why the Greeks used the medial d in the transliteration when they had a tenue t, why an i was used for a, and how the intervocal k in the Tamil word pronounced like a spirant came to be represented by k, not by kh or h.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's view is wholly untenable but some writers continue to repeat it. Greek writers mention not only Damirikë but also Āriake, Lārike. In these three words the termination kē or ikē is evidently the Greek termination signifying 'locality'. Limirikē, Dymirikē, Dimirikē

t. On the way to Agastya's hermitage Rāma says to Laksmana,

[&]quot;Pippalinūm ca pakvānūm vanādasmūdupā gatah. Gandho'yam pavanosksiptah sahasā katukodayah ". (Āranyakānda: Sarga 11, verse 51).

[&]quot;The smell wasted by the winds from the pippall forests bearing ripened fruits is very pungent".

^{2.} Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dakhan, p. 3.

apparently mean the land of the Limirs, Dymirs, Damirs which may be different transliterations of the Präkrt damida. But we must note that the country so variously designated did not include the whole of the Tamil land as the region about Cape Comorin and the Coromandel coast are outside Damirike, according to both the Periplus and Ptolemy's map. In any case we can confidently say that Damirike is not a transliteration of the latter poetic word Tamilakam = Tamil+akam "the home of the Tamils".

It has been thought necessary to make large quotations from Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai for criticising him, because his fancies have been taken to be facts by unsuspecting foreign writers and are finding their way into standard works. His 'patriotic' book was never taken seriously in South India; it is now presented to South Indians as genuine history by foreign historians of South India.

S. 17. MR. V. A. SMITH.

(a) The following extracts from Mr. V. A. Smith's "Early History of India", 3rd Edition (1914), pages 438-443 may be quoted here:—

** The Greek geographer Ptolemy, who wrote his treatise about A.D. 140, was well acquainted with Southern India, which he called Damirika, a good transliteration of Tamila-kam, r and I being interchangeable but unfortunately corrupted in the manuscripts into the unmeaning form Limyrika owing to the frequent confusion between ∨ and △¹. In his time one language only, the Tamil, was spoken over the whole area, Malayalam, now the speech of Malabar, not having been developed as a separate tongue till some centuries later. The population comprised various elements, of

Ptolemy bk, VII: Chap. 1, page 85; transl: McGrindle: Ind. Ant: XIII, page 367. The Pentingerian tables correctly give the names a Damirike (Ind. Ant. III—144).

which the Villavar, or bow-men (Bhils) and Minavar or fishermen (Minas) are supposed to have been the most ancient. The Tamils seem to be later immigrants.

"The early Tamil poetical literature, dating according to competent expert opinion from the first three centuries of the Christian era gives a vivid picture of the state of society of that period. The Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, wholly independent of Northern India. Immigrants from the North, who had settled at Madura and some other cities sought to introduce Hindu notions of caste and ceremonial, but met with much opposition and the caste system, which for many centuries past has been observed with special strictness in the South was then inchoate and imperfect."

"Tamil land had the good fortune to possess three precious commodities not procurable elsewhere, namely, pepper, pearls and beryl. Pepper fetched an enormous price in the markets of Europe, and was so highly prized that when Alaric the Goth levied his war indemnity from Rome, in A.D. 409, his terms included the delivery of 3,000 lhs, of pepper. The pearl fishery of the Southern sea, which still is productive and valuable has been worked for untold ages, and always attracted a crowd of foreign merchants. The beryl or aqua-marine gem, which as Pliny truly observed, is closely related to the emerald was highly esteemed by both Indians and Romans, and often furnished material for the choicest achievement of the engraver's art. Its scarcity except in India tempted clever Indian forgers to fabricate imitations made from rock-crystal. Three Indian mines are recorded, namely (I) Punnata, where Ptolemy noted that beryl was found, close to Kittür on the Kabbani river,

The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, pages 3 39.

a tributary of the Kāvirī (Cauvery) in the south-west of Mysore; (2) Padiytīr or Patriāli, 40 miles E.S.E. from the town of Coimbatore where a mine was worked successfully as late as 1820; and (3) Vāniyambāḍi in the north-east corner of the Salem District, not far from the Kolar Gold Field. The large and numerous hoards of Roman gold coins found in the districts where the mines were situated, testify to the activity of ancient commerce in the gems of Southern India. The fact that the mineral corundum, a variety of the ruby and sapphire, found abundantly in Salem and Coimbatore bears a purely Tamil name (kurandam) affords another indication of the familiarity of ancient Europe with the products of the Indian gem mines."

Here Mr. Smith adopts several of Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's specialities—aboriginal Villavar and Minavar and the later Tamil immigrants. It is surprising that he should also have accepted Damarikë as a good transliteration of Tamilakam notwithstanding the d i, k of the transliteration and that he should not have noted that the suffix of the transliteration is found also in Aryakë and Lärike. It may be remarked that Ptolemy transliterates the name of the town Tagara as using an initial tenue.

It is curious that, of the three precious commodities of which the Tamil land had the monopoly, not one should be known by its pure Tamil name in Europe. Vaidūrya of which beryl is a shortened form is obviously a Sanskrit formation. Kurandam the supposed pure Tamil name of commatum is a shortened form of the Sanskrit Kuruvindam and the word muttu is not known outside the Dravidian country. There were no professional pearl-divers at the time of the Periplus and from the fact of Brahman shark-charmers being found indispensable Mr. Schoff, translator of Periplus, suspects that the pearl-fishing industry perhaps dates from a time after the

Aryan occupation of South India. Mr. V. A. Smith's *untold ages' must, therefore be accepted with considerable reserve.

In regard to the age of the early Tamil literature Mr. Vincent Smith accepts what he calls 'competent expert opinion' that the literature dates from the first three centuries of the Christian era; but South Indian scholars are not at all agreed on the question, many of them inclining to the sixth or seventh century.

Mr. Smith apparently thinks that the South Indian civilization as described in the early Tamil literature was wholly independent of Northern India and that the immigrants from the North were confined at that time to Madura and some other cities. This view is entirely erroneous. Chapter V of Cilappatikaram which describes the first day of the annual Indra-festival lasting for one month mentions the following deities as possessiong temples within the city of Pukar i.e., Kaveripattinam:—

Siva, (2) Subrahmanya, (2) Balarama, (4) Viṣṇu,
 Indra, the supreme deity of the Vedic pantheon (11 169-173); it is also stated that Indra's idol was bathed on the Viṣu (equinox) day which was the full-moon day of the month of Cittirai. (1. 168.)

Chapter VI of the poem enumerates eleven dances or dramatic representations enacted during the festival. These were:—

t. It appears from Chapter IX (IL 9-15) that the undermentioned deines also had temples in the city:—(6) the Kalpa tree (7) Indra's elephant Airāvata (8) Indra's weapon Vajra (9) Kailāsa (10) Subrahmanya's lance (11) Sātavāhana (12) Sāstā (13) Arhan (14) the Sun (15) the Moon.

- Siva's dance in front of the burning Tripura (11, 40-42),
 - 2. Siva's pandarangam dance as Bhairavi (11. 44-45),
- Kṛṣṇa vanquishing the elephant despatched by Kamsa against him (11 46-48),
 - Kṛṣṇa vanquishing Bāṇa (11 48-49),
 - 5. Subrahmanya vanquishing Śūrapadma (11 49-51)
- The umbrella dance of Subrahmanya in front of the Asura army (11 52-53),
 - 7. The pot dance of Kṛṣṇa in the city of Bāṇa (1154-55),
- The dance of Kāma in the form of a hermaphrodite (11 56-57),
 - 9. The dance of Durgā with wooden legs (11 56-57),
- The dance of Sri-devi in the form of a fascinating maiden (11 60-61).
- The dance of Indrana in the fields at the northern gate of Bana's city (11 62-64).

Kāma festival was celebrated as now in the month of Phālguna (XIV-11 111-112).

- i. Public Worship. The deities mentioned above are either Vedic or Purănic; the dances represented striking and noteworthy incidents of Hindu mythology. It is obvious that the whole system of public worship had become Aryanized.
- ii. The names of months. The system of naming the twelve months after the names of the full-moon constellations had been taken over from the Aryan together with the actual names of the months. It does not appear that the Tamils had at any time, any other names for the months.
- iii. The names of planets. The Hindu planets (Grahas) were then called by their Sanskrit names: -Cantiran, 'the

Moon', 'Kuru' Jupiter', Ankārakan, 'Mars' (Cilappatikāram XIV-1-195).

iv. The Brahmans, Chapter VI of Cilappatikaram refers to the Varunappütar (35), that is, the patron deities of the four castes, and to the Nalvakai varunattatankakkambalai) (163-165) * the ceaseless noise created by the four (assembled) castes. The Brahmanas were not confined to a few cities as supposed by Mr. Smith but had also settlements on the banks of the Cauvery (X-143-147) and in other country parts of which the following are mentioned incidentally in the epic :- Talaiccenkāṇam (XV-11), Tankāl (XXIII-75), Vayalūr (XXIII-119), Māńkāţu (XI-53). Kāppiya-t-tolkuţi (XXX-83). It is also stated in the epic that the smoke of the offerings of Brahmanas in their Yagas becomes the nucleus (embryo) of rain clouds1. In Chapter XXIII the guardian deity of Madura states that the Pandya king always followed the counsel of Brahmanas, never listening to the advice of sycophants (H 31-32) and relates how he made suitable amends when he once incurred divine displeasure in consequence of a Brahmana being put in chains by his agents. In Chapter XXI when Madura is burning, the God of fire is instructed not to injure Brahmanas, ascetics, cows, chaste women and the old and the young (53-54). The kings of Kêrala were even then, as they are doing now, rewarding learned Brähmanas versed in Vedic lore and on important occasions they used to distribute, as they do now, their own weights in gold (tulābhāram) as rewards to Brāhmanas (XXVI-174-176).

 v. Pilgrimage to holy places. People went on pilgrimage to Tirupati, Śrirangam and other holy places as they

That the rains are due to the Yagas performed by the Brahmanas is the teaching of the Smrtis.

^{2.} Vide the notes called Arumpada Urai.

are doing now. Rămēśvaram had not apparently attained its present sanctity then; Cape Comorin was then held specially sacred and the people of the Tamil country as well as those from Northern India went to Kanya-Kumārī to wash off their sins. This cape appears to have been regarded then as the site of Rāma's anikati.

The above are a few items throwing light on the social condition and civilization of Southern India culled from Cilappatikaram stated to have been written in the second century A.D. by a Buddhistic monk, brother to the Cera king Cenkuttuvan. Other early Tamil works containing similar descriptions of early Tamil society are the Manimekalai and the Paripatal. It appears from the former of these that the whole system of Indo-Arvan philosophy, orthodox and heterodox, had been bodily transplanted to the south. The latter work confines its description to Madura and its neighbourhood. A perusal of the poems included in the Paripatal will show clearly that the major portion of the Hindu mythology, especially the portion relating to the incarnations of Vismu, the birth of Kumāra, his heroic exploits and his marriage with Indra's daughter and with Valli, has been adopted by the Tamil poets. It is the boast of one of these poets that the citizens of Madura are roused from their sleep in the morning not by the crowing of the cock as in the capital cities of the Cera and the Cola kings but by the sound of the Vedas recited by the Brahmanas 2.

It will be seen from the above that the picture of South Indian society as given in the early Tamil poetical literature does not differ much from what it is now. Indo-Aryan philosophy, Indo-Aryan gods and system of worship, Indo-Aryan divisions of time and chronology and generally Indo-

^{1.} Manimekalai, V. 1-37.

^{2.} Paripāṭal, page 175. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition.

Aryan ideals of life had been adopted in the South. There were no doubt fewer Brähmanas than now; there were also Buddhist and Jain ascetics who enjoyed perhaps as much honour as the Brähmanas. But it will be wholly incorrect to say that the South Indian civilization of the period was independent of Northern India.

- (b) The following extracts from Mr. Smith's "Ancient and Hindu India." (1920) may also be given here:—
- "Drawdian culture. The Brahmanical ideas and institutions, although universally diffused in every province, have
 not been wholly victorious. Pre-historic forms of worship
 and many utterly un-Aryan social practices survive, especially in the peninsula, among the peoples speaking Dravidian
 languages. We see there the strange spectacle of an exaggerated regard for caste co-existing with all sorts of weird
 notions and customs alien to Brahman tradition. While it is
 not improbable that the Dravidian civilization may be as
 old as or even older than the Indo-Aryan Brahmanical culture
 of the north, which was long regarded in the south as an
 unwelcome intruder to be resisted strenuously, the materials
 available for the study of early Dravidian institutions are
 too scanty and imperfectly explored to permit of history
 being based upon them."

"Distinct Dravidian civilization. Where the Brahmans succeeded in making their way into the kingdoms of the peninsula, including the realms of the Andhras, Gëras, Gölas and Pändyas, they found a civilized society, not merely a collection of rude barbarian tribes. The Dravidian religion and social customs differed widely from those of nothern India........Even now, when Hindusim, with its strict caste rules and its recognised system of law, has gained the mastery, the old and quite different Dravidian ideas may be traced in a thousand directions. The ancient Dravidian,

alphabet called Vatteluttu, of Semitic origin, is wholly distinct from any of the nothern alphabets, Tradition as recorded in the ancient Tamil literature indicates that from very remote times wealthy cities existed in the south and that many of the refinements and luxuries of life were in common use. The good fortune of Tamil Land (Tamilakam) in possessing such eagerly desired commodities as gold, pearls, conch, shells, pepper, beryls, and choice cotton goods attracted foreign traders from the earliest ages. Commerce supplied the wealth required for life on civilized lines and the Dravidians were not afraid to cross the seas. Some day, perhaps, the history of Dravidian civilization may be written by a competent scholar skilled in all he lore and languages required for the study of the subject, but at present the literature concerned with it is too fragmentary, defective and controversial to permit of condensation."

The remark about Vatteluttu appears to reproduce Dr. Burnell's exploded view and does not apparently take into account the later researches of Dr. Buhler and Mr. T.A. Gopinatha Rao.

Nothing can be farther from the truth than the statement that the Brahmanical culture of he North was regarded as an intruder to be strenuously resisted; it appears from the early Tamil literature that this culture had been adopted.

Côla, Cêra and Pândya are dynastic names and Mr. Smith seems to be under the impression that these dynastics are of South Indian origin. But early Tamil literature says that they were of northern extraction.

In regard to the succession of ages in India culture, Mr. V. A. Smith says:-

"In Southern India stone-tools were superseded directly by iron, without any intermediate stop. The time when

iron became the ordinary material of tools and weapons is called the Iron or Early Iron Age. In Northern India the case is different. There the metal first used for tools, harpoons, swords, and spear-heads was copper, practically pure. Copper implements and weapons, often of peculiar forms, but sometimes closely resembling those found in Ireland, have been discovered in large numbers in the Central Provinces, Chutia Nagpur, old beds of the Ganges near Cawnpore and elsewhere. Silver objects are associated with them, but no iron. Probably copper-tools were in use when the R gyeda hymns were composed, but commentators differ. Iron certainly was known to the authors of the Atharvaveda, a very ancient book, and was in common use in 500 B.C. We may safely assume that the metal was utilized in Northern India from at least 1000 B.C. It may have been introduced much earlier, and from Babylonia. The earliest of the coppertools may well be as old as 2000 B.C. In Southern India, the discovery or introduction of iron, may have occurred much later and quite independently."

In regard to the Dravidian languages Mr. V.A. Smith says:—

"The family or group of tongues second in importance is the Dravidian in the peninsula, comprising Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanaresa and Tulu, besides some minor tongues. Both Tamil and Telugu have rich literatures. The Tamil is the principal and perhaps the oldest language of the group. The grammar and structure of the Dravidian speech differ wholly from the Aryan type. The most ancient Tamil literature, dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, or even earlier, was composed on Dravidian lines, and independent of Sanskrit models. The latter literature in all the languages has been largely influenced by Brahmanical ideas and diction. The linguistic family is called Dravidian because Drāvidian was the ancient name

of the Tamil country in the far south. In fact, Tamil is really the same word as the adjective Dravida."

S. 18. PROFESSOR J. KENNEDY.

In an article entitled "Early Commerce of Babylon with India" published in J.R.A.S. 1898, Professor J. Kennedy examines in detail the evidences that have been adduced to prove the existence of such a commerce from the time of Solomon and comes to the conclusion that there was no intercourse prior to the 7th Century B.C.

In regard to Algum or Alming trees mentioned in the books of Kings and Chronicles he says that what has been adduced "is satisfacory proof of an Indian trade in the time of the author of Kings. But was it sandal wood that Solomon received or something else that was taken for sandal wood centuries after the destruction of the temple..... The wood was used for props and the inclined ascents to the temple and the palace. I know few material less fitted for such purposes than sandal wood."

In regard to Tukiyim or pea-cocks he says :-

"Peacocks come with silver and gold, not from Ophic, but from Tarshish (I-Kings, X-22; 2 Chronicles, IX-21).
"Thuki, the Hebrew for pea-fowl, is certainly Dravidian" and derived from the Tamil tôkei or tôgei (Caldwell, page 66, 1st Edition). Now we happen to know, on independent evidence, that peacocks were exported from India at the time when the books of Kings and Chronicles were composed; but here again there arises the question of identity. The exports of silver from Tarshish are decisive against any Indian locality, and the LXX says nothing about pea-fowl."

He also rejects the suggestion that Solomon received his ages from India and comes to the conclusion that Ophie must be sought for among the Semites and that he could see no archaeological or literary evidence for a maritime trade with India prior to the 7th Century B.C. He, however, holds the view that "rice, peacocks, sandal wood, every known article which we find imported into Babylon by sea before the 5th Century B.C. brought with it a Dravidian, not a Sanskrit designation" and that these articles are known by their Tamil names in Europe.

In an article entitled "The Gospels of Infancy" published in the J.R.A.S., 1917, he draws attention to the existence of an Indian firm of traders at Nippur¹ so early as the 5th Century B.C.

"Among the business tablets of the great banking house tablets of Murashu and Sons at Nippur which cover the latter half of the 5th Century B.C. we find records of their dealings with certain Indian merchants and if there were Indian merchants at Nippur there must have been Indians in other places in Babylonia. And they must have come from the west coast; for about the same time articles of Indian provenance, rice, peacocks and the like became known for the first time in Greece. Sophocles, Aristophanes and others mention them; and they were known under Dravidian names. This Indian colony carried on trade with Barygaza in the time of Periplus and it was still flourishing in the 7th Century A.D."

S. 19. THE GAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, DR. BARNETT.

The latest contributions of British Scholars in regard to the ancient civilization of South India and of the Dravidians are contained in Chapters II, XXIV, XXV and XXXI of Volume I of the Cambridge History of India edited by E. J. Rapson, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. These contributions embody the considered

See also pages 51 and 52 of Professor P. T. Srinivasa.
 Aiyangar's 'History of India' (1923).

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views of Orientalists and other scholars in regard to these questions and are worth quoting in extense.

L. D. Barnett, Litt.D., says: -(Vol. 1, pages 593-594),

The great peninsula of India from the Vindhya mountains southward to Comorin, is the home of the Dravidian peoples. And here at the outset we are faced by a difficulty of terms.

"The word Dravida comes from an ethnic term Dravida or Dramida, in Pâli Damila which is apparently identical in origin with the adjective Tamil; and thus a title which is apparently applicable to a single branch, the Tamils, is extended to a whole family. Again, not only is the term Dravidian' used sometimes to denote all the members of the one ethnic family, but it is also employed to designate all the cognate languages spoken by that family-the Tamil, Malāyālm, Tehigu, Kannada (Kanarese), and various minor dialects-without regard to the possible differences of race among the groups speaking these tongues; and further more by a deplorable looseness of terminology, it has been applied by anthropologism to a group of races characterised by common physical features,1 who are chiefly inhabitants of the peninsula, and for the most part, but by no means entirely, use languages which are variants of Dravidan speech. Lastly we must note that an ancient Tamil tradition speaks of a paiica-Dravidam or five Dravidian regions understanding thereby the Tamil, Andhra, Telugu and Kanarese countries, the Mahārāstra or Marātha provinces and Guiarat. The conclusion which is suggested by a review of all the available data is as follows :-

"At some very early date several millennia before the Christian era, the greater part of India was inhabited by a

These features are very dark hise, long head, broad nose, abundant and sometimes curly hair, and dark eyes.

dark negroid race of low culture characterised more or less by the physical features now known as Dravidian. This early people, however, should more properly be termed pre-Dravidian. In course of time another race, higher in culture and speaking a language of 'Scythian' affinities, from which are derived the tongues now known as Dravidian, gradually made its way from the north or north-west-probably through Baluchistan-into the plain of the Indus, and thence ultimately passed down into the regions south of the Vindhya. This race may be called the proto-Dravidian. Wherever it came, it mixed its blood to a greater or less degree with that of the earlier inhabitants. From this combination have arisen the Dravidians of history who have preserved few traces of the physical characteristics of the proto-Dravidians, whatever these may have been. 1 Most of the pre-Dravidian tribes in the countries south of the Vindhya adopted the speech of the proto-Dravidians, while they absorbed their blood, notably in the centre and south of the peninsula, the Tamil, Kannada and Telugu regions. In Gujarat the waves of Arvan immigration gradually submerged Dravidian blood and speech; in Mahārāstra the same influences obliterated the language and the same has happened in Kalinga (now Orissa and part of the Circars) where a Dravidian language, the Telugu, survives only in the southern districts.

"Long before the beginning of the Christian era the Dravidian South had developed a considerable culture of its own, and its inhabitants had developed themselves into powerful kingdoms, some of which carried on a thriving trade with western Asia, Egypt, and later with the Greek and

It is possible that the "Scythian" features that have been observed among the Maratha Brahmans, Kunbis, Coorgs and Telugus may be survivals of proto-Dravidian characteristics.

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Roman Empires. The chief of these were three Tamil kingdoms, the Andhras, Kalinga and Maharastra."

 This extract from Dr. Barnett's article requires a few explanatory and critical remarks.

a. Seythian and Dravidian.—The Scythian affinities referred to are the affinities asserted to exist in the Dravidian languages by Bishop Caldwell who, following the Danish philologist Rask, uses the term Scythian in the sense of what have later been generally called Turanian—non-Aryan and non-Semitic—languages. The existence of these affinities is, as we have seen, denied by the editors of the Linguistic Survey of India and by the generality of scholars.

The phrase ' Scythian features' in the foot-note is adopted from Sir Herbert Risley, who, in his classification of the populations of India, places the broad-headed peoples inhabiting the belt of country on the west of India between Gujarat and Coorg in the Scytho-Dravidian group. This brachycephalism. Sir Herbert Risley thought, was possibly due to the absorption in the population of Western India of swarms of nomadic peoples who poured into India for a number of centuries about the beginning of the Christian era and "whose out-landish names were conveniently summed up in the generic term Scythian 11. Sir Herbert defended the supposed brachycephalism of these Scythians on the ground that they came from the Central Asian steppes " a region occupied exclusively by broad-headed races". 1 Dr. Barnett, differing from Sir Herbert Risley, appears to think that this brachycephalism is possibly due to the proto-Dravidians who settled in India before the arrival of the Arvans. A third theory, that of Professor E. J. Rapson, is that the disturbing influence was due to the invasion of a broad-headed Alpine race which

t. Census Report of India, 1901, Vol. I; Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, Vol. I, page 292.

inhabited the plateau of Western Asia (Anatolia, Armenia and Iran) and that these seem to have come into Western India, as the Dravidians also most probably came, through Bahuchistan.¹

There are other theories about the original home of the Dravidians. We have Sir W. Hunter's Central Asian theory which is rejected by Sir Herbert Risley. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai postulated a Central Asian Mongolian origin to the higher strata of Dravidian society. The editors of the Linguistic Survey think that "we have no information to show that they (Dravidians) are not the original inhabitants of the South (of India)". Huxley treated them as Australioid; Pischel classed them with Singhalese and Veddahs as people of uncertain origin. Then we have the theory of the submerged Lemurian Continent and some others.

b. Maritime Commerce.—The supposed thriving trade with Western Asia and Egypt and later with the Greek and Roman Empires rests on the assumption that tōgai, pippali, arici, tilcivēr, and karuppu or kārppu are indigenous Tamil words which have found entrance into foreign languages. It must again be noted, in passing, that there is no such word as in Greek.

c. Panca-Dravidam.—Reference is made in the extract to "an ancient Tamil tradition" which speaks of "a pañca-Dravidam or five Dravidian regions understanding thereby the Tamil, Andhra or Telugu, and Kanarese countries, the Mahārāṣṭra or Marātha provinces, and Gujarāt". If, by this, it is intended to convey the idea that there was such a tradition among the Dravidians as opposed to the immigrant Aryans a most emphatical denial should be given to the statement. Bishop Galdwell understood this so-called tradi-

t. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, page 45.

tion to refer to five Dravidian languages and thought Marāthī and Gujarātī were erroneously included in it (Intro: C.D.G., page 117). The only tradition recorded in Tamil grammars about languages other than Tamil is that the Tamil land is surrounded by seventeen countries in which other languages are spoken, but the authors of these works appear to have had no idea that some of these were related to Tamil, e.g., Telugu, Kanarese, Tulu, Koṭagu; for these names occur mixed up indiscriminately with the names of non-Dravidian languages.

The various sects of Brahmans in India do not all follow the same dedras and the Smrtis divide them into two main classes with reference to these dedras siz., the Northerners and the Southerners², who have usually been called the Gaudas and the Drāvidas in later times, Gauda and Drāvida being the most prominent sects of the two classes. And as in the Vedic cosmogony, everything is regarded as five-fold³. The Skända Purāṇa* refers to the people living north of the Vindhya mountains as the Pañca-Gaudas viz., Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Gauda, Maithilika and Autkala; and to the people living south of the Vindhyas as the Pañca-Drāvidas siz., Karnāṭa, Tailaṅga, Gujjara, Āndhra and Drāvida. Tailaṅga and Āndhra refer apparently to one and the same people; so it is usual to omit one of these two and substitute

Vide page 161 Nannül Edition (1918) by Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar.

^{2.} Smrticandrikā, Vol. I, page 2:.

Pañcabhirdhātā vidhāvidam yat tāsām svašrīajanayat pañca pañca (T. S. IV. 3-11).

^{4.} Sarasvatāh kānyakubjā gandamaithilikautkalāḥ. Pañcagaudā iti khyātā vindhyasyūttaravāsinaḥ. Karnātāścaiva tailangā guljarā rāstravāsinaḥ. Āndhrāśca drāvidāḥ pañca vindhyadakṣiṇavāsinah.

Mahārāṣṭra instead. This is the origin of the so-called tradition about pañea-Drāvidas; it refers neither to regions nor to languages but to peoples—Brahman sects¹, Drāvida and Gauda being convenient substitutes for Southern and Northern. This supposed tradition appears to be one of the grounds for Dr. Barnett's assumption that Gujarāt and the Marāṭha country were peopled by Dravidans when the Aryans arrived in India.

If there is one tradition regarding Tamil language and literature which is more ancient and more widely spread than others, it is that the sage Agastya of the Potiva hill wrote the first Tamil Grammar and was the author of various Tamil treatises. That a Sanskritist wrote the first Grammar is fully borne out by the arrangement of the alphabet which follows the Sanskrit order unscientifically relegating the special Tamil letters to the end and by the circumstance that the Tamit letter .: corresponding to the Sanskrit visarga bears the name aytam, a tadbhava of the Sanskrit asrita 'dependent'. Dr. Barnett is one of a small band of oriental scholars who have devoted their lives to the task of interpreting the East to the West and it is unfortunate that he should discredit this tradition (apparently following Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai) and should speak of the undoubted Brahman tradition of pasica-Dravidas regarding the sects of southern Brahmans as an ancient Tamil tradition'.

S. 20. PROFESSOR RAPSON:—(Vol. I, Cambridge History of India, pages 41, 42 and 49).

"It would seem probable that the original speakers of the Dravidian languages were invaders and that the ethnographical Dravidians are a mixed race. In the more habitable regions the two elements have fused while representatives of

Vide the contribution of Mr. John Beames at page 160 of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. V.

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the aborigines are still to be found in the fastnesses to which they retired before the encroachments of the new comers. If this view be correct, we must suppose that the aborigines have, in the course of long ages, lost their ancient language and adopted those of their conquerors. The process of linguistic transformation which may still be observed in other parts of India would seem to have been carried out more completely in the South than elsewhere.

"The theory that the Dravidian element is the most ancient that we can discover in the population of Northern India must also he modified by what we now know of the Munda languages, the Indian representatives of the Austric family of speech, and the mixed languages in which their influence has been traced. Here according to the evidence now available it would seem that the Austric element is the eldest and that it has been overlaid in different regions by successive waves of Dravidian and Indo-European on the one hand and by Tibeto-Chinese on the other. Most ethnologists hold that there is no difference in physical type between the present speakers of Munda and Dravidian languages. Thisstatement has been called in question; but if it be true it shows that racial conditions have become so complicated that it is no longer possible to analyse their constituents. Language alone has preserved a record which would otherwise have been lost

"At the same time there can be little doubt that Dravidian languages were actually flourishing in the western regions of Northern India at the period when languages of the Indo-European type were introduced by Aryan invasions from the north-west. Dravidian characteristics have been traced alike in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, in the Präkrus or early popular dialects, and in the modern Vernaculars derived from them. The linguistic data would thus appear to be arranged in the order Austric, Dravidian, Indo-European. "There is good ground then for supposing that before the coming of the Indo-Aryans, speakers of the Dravidian languages predominated both in Northern and Southern India; but as we have seen, older elements are discoverable in the population of both regions and therefore the assumption that the Dravidians are aboriginals is no longer tenable." (pages 41, 42).

"The Dravidian languages, with the exception of Brahill, are now confined to the peninsula south of the Vindhya and Ceylon; but it is supposed that at the period of the Aryan invasions they prevailed also in the North, This inference is derived from the change which Indo-European underwent after its introduction into India, and which can only be explained as the result of some older disturbing element. The oldest form of Indo-Aryan, the language of the Rg-Veda is distinguished from the oldest form of Iranian, the language of the Avesta, chiefly by the presence of a second series of dental letters, the so-called cerebrals. These play an increasingly important part in the development of Indo-Aryan in its subsequent phases. They are foreign to Indo-European languages generally, and they are characteristic of Dravidian. We may conclude, therefore, that the earlier forms of speech by which Indo-European was modified in the various stages of its progress from the North-West were predominatingly Dravidian.

At the present time Dravidian languages are stable only in the countries of the South where they have developed great literatures like Tamil, Malayāļam, Kanarese and Telugu. In the northern borders of the Dravidian sphere of influence, the spoken languages which have not been stereotyped by literatures are, as each succeeding Report of the Census of India shows, still continuing to retreat before the onward progress of Indo-Aryan." (page 49).

The Dravidian characteristics referred to in the above extract are discussed briefly in Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India. The chief of them are: 1, the adoption of the so-called cerebral letters in the Indo-Aryan forms of speech, 2, the irregular change of r into 1 and vice versa, 3, the increasing use of conjunctive participles instead of verb forms, 4, the formation of the active past participle and of the perephrastic future. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter; but it may be mentioned here in anticipation that most of these Dravidian characteristics in Aryan, when examined at close quarters, turn out to be Aryan characteristics in Dravidian.

22. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

 Sir J. H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., Director-General of Archeology, India says:—(Cambridge History, Volume I, pages 612-615).

"With the palaeolithic peoples of India we are here scarcely concerned. Their rough-chipped implements have been found in large numbers in the southern half of the peninsula and in deposits, which indicate that countless centuries must have elapsed between their last appearance and the dawn of Vedic history, while the forms of the implements themselves, strikingly unlike those of the neolithic age, have suggested to some writers that their authors may not even have had an ethnical connection with the later inhabitants of the land. The neolithic races on the other hand are invested with a more immediate interest for the historian, not only hecause there are good reasons for supposing that some of the existing peoples of India-notably the Dravidians-are directly descended from them, but because this phase of civilization was preserved in some parts of the country until medieval and probably more recent times. The stone weapons and utensils which are specially characteristic of it are found scattered over a much wider area than the more

rudimentary palæoliths, though mainly in regions where the trap-rock used specially in their manufacture abounds. They exhibit a remarkable variety, illustrated by at least a hundred distinct types, some which belong to the polished, others to the unpolished class. With few exceptions, however, they are identical in form with similar objects from Western Asia and Europe, and this identity has led to the supposition that the Dravidian peoples, with whom the neolithic culture in India appears to have been peculiarly associated, once dwelt in the highlands of Western Asia and penetrated thence by way of Baluchistan into India: and at first sight, the survival in Baluchistan of a Dravidian language, Brāhūī, would seem to support this view. Other linguistic considerations, on the other hand, have been thought to point to the conclusion that the Dravidians were indigenous in the Dakhan and spread thence over a part of Northern India.

"As the stone age passed gradually away in Northern India, it appears to have given place, not to an age of bronze, as it did in most parts of Europe, but to one of copper.

"At what date iron came to supplant copper in the north of India is uncertain, but literary evidence from Vedas seems to indicate that it was introduced in the second millennium B.C. It was about the same time too that it came into general use in Mesopotamia.

"In Southern India there was no copper age, and iron probably did not take the place of stone till about 500 B.C. Up to that time the Aryans of the north seem to have possessed no very distinct knowledge of the south of the Peninsula which was at once isolated and protected against invasion by the natural defences of the Vindhya hills and the trackless jungles of Central India, and when at last they penetrated through these barriers they found

the Dravidian and other races in the south still in the neolithic stage of culture. The supposition that iron was first conveyed into Southern India by sea from Egypt has nothing to commend it."

ii. Professor Rapson says :- (Vol. I, page 56).

pre-historic archaeology of India has not " The attracted the attention which it deserves and many interesting problems connected with the earlier cultures and their relations to the culture of the Rg-Veda remains to be solved : but there is a general agreement as to the succession of cultural strata in Northern and Southern India. The discoveries of ancient implements seem to prove that in the North, the Stone Age is separated from the Iron Age by a Copper Age; while in the South no such transitional stage has been observed-implements of stone are followed without a break by implements of iron. Bronze, it appears, is not found anywhere in India before the Iron Age. If these facts may be held to be established, we must conclude that the chief metal of the Rg-Veda ayas (Latin ass) was copper; and the absence of a Bronze Age in India would seem to indicate that the earlier inhabitants were still in the Stone Age at the time when the Aryans brought with them the use of copper. Iron was probably not known in the age of Rg-Veda; but undoubtedly occurs in the period immediately following, when it is known to the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda as sidma-ajas or 'black copper'. Its use was introduced by Indo-Aryan colonizers into Southern India where the Stone Age culture still prevailed.

"Described in its simplest terms, the earliest history of India is the story of the struggle between two widely different types of civilization, an unequal contest between metal and stone." a. South Indian Raksasas mentioned in the Ramoyana.

Archaeological deposits and remains never mislead and are more reliable than theories based necessarily in great part on assumptions. We have had a plethora of theories about the original home and the ethnic relationships of the proto-Dravidians. But, wherever they came from, there seems to be now no doubt that the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India were in the Neolithic stage of culture, most of them probably but little removed from the condition of barbarians, till about the latter half of the first millennium B.C. This is entirely in accordance with the accounts preserved in the Ramayana of the peoples whom Agastya and Rama encountered in Southern India. Agastya had a long struggle in the South with Ilvala and Vātāpi, chiefs of cannibal tribes. In the middle of the Dakhan, Rāma had frequently to war with Rākṣasas whose king Rayana lived in Ceylon. The following are some of the synonyms for Rākṣasa in the Sanskrit Dictionaries :-

1. kaunapa- 'cater of corpses.'
2. kravyād, kravyāda- 'cater of raw flesh.'

3. āsrape- drinker of blood.

4. yātudhāna, yātu- cannībal."

More than seven millions of the population of this Presidency still continue to be carrion-eaters.

b. The Telugu Mals.

Māli, Sumāli, and Mālyavān are the names of three brothers, Rākṣasa chiefs—mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa—of whom the last was Rāvaṇa's maternal grandfather; Dhān-yamālā was one of Rāyaṇa's wives and Jambumālī was one of his sons; Mēghamālī and Mahāmālī are the names of two of the lieutenants of Khara, half-brother of Rāvaṇa. Vasiṣṭha married a Caṇḍāla girl named Akṣamālā. So many names

ending in or containing mal or mall would seem to indicate that mala was a tribal name or a title of distinction among Rākṣasas which has survived to the present day in the name Mālas of the Telugu country. If this surmise is correct we might also infer that Janasthāna was in the delta of the Godāvarī or there abouts; it was on the banks of the Godāvarī that Rāma fought with Khara and his fourteen thousand.

23. AN EPIGRAPHIST'S VIEW OF PRIMITIVE DRAVIDIAN CULTURE,
MR. H. KRISHNA SASTRL

Brāhmī inscriptions in the Pandya country.

The views entertained by epigraphists on the question of early Dravidian civilization, based, as they are, almost wholly on lithic records, must be assigned a prominent place in all discussions about this question.

Till recently the earliest indigenous records available in the Tamil country did not take us further back than the 7th or the 8th Century A.D. During the last fifteen years, however, certain cave inscriptions have been brought to-light which are all in Brähmi characters of the early Asokan type. These inscriptions have till now been found in eleven different localities in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly and the number of inscriptions copied is over forty. They have resisted all attempts at interpretation, but epigraphists appear to be of opinion that though written in Brähmi they must contain a strong Dravidian element. In a paper 1 read at the Poona Conference of Orientalists, introducing these inscriptions to the public, Rao Bahadur H, Krishna Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India says:—

"Our present knowledge of the history of southernmost part of the Indian Peninsula, derived mostly from indigenous inscriptions does not extend farther back than the

Pages 327—348 of Volume containing Proceedings and Transactions of the Poona Oriental Conference.

7th Century A.D. The possibility, however, of the existence of a long-standing earlier civilization and dominion is suggested by references to the kingdoms of Cola, Pandya, and Keralaputta bordering on that of the great Mauryan emperor Asoka and to the mutual commercial relations said to have existed between the countries of Pandu (i.e., Panday) and Rome, as gathered from the statements of early foreign travellers. Nearer home we have the further evidence of the epics Rāmāvana and Mahābhārata and a host of literary references including those of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Kālidāsa and Varahamihira which lead to the same conclusion, Still the data for the existence of a purely Dravidian civilization distinct from the now-existing super-imposed Arvan element of literary, political, religious and scientific thought, is but indefinitely postulated and the evidence in proof thereof, scantily put forth. We are asked to look for traces of the ancient Dravidas of Southern India in the Dasyus, Kirâtas, Vyadhas and Sabaras of Sanskrit literature whose modern representatives are again assumed to be the hill tribes of the present day with their crude customs and manners. It is not possible to believe that the Dravidian civilization which if it deserved that name at all, must have counted in it elements such as civil administration, military organization, commercial adventure, religious forecast, and scientific enquiry should have dwindled down into nothing but fetishism and ill-bred lawlessness of the aboriginal of Southern India. Much less would it be reasonable to work back from the rude elements of aboriginal institutions to arrive at the essentials of the Dravidian civilization. It appears therefore more scientific to suppose that the Dravidian elements of civilization that existed at the time when the Aryans came into Southern India were at once recognised by the conquerors and fast became assimilated with those of the superior and superimposed civilization of the latter the two races

becoming entirely mixed up and the uncivilized element in society which must have existed even then, finding shelter only in mountains and forests as it does to this day. Consequently I understand that the elements of Dravidian civilization, if any, have to be worked out purely from literature and possibly also from a comparative study of civilized institutions both Nothern and Southern. Epigraphical research too, in my opinion, contributes a little in this direction as will be recognized in the present paper dealing with the natural caverns and Brāhmī inscriptions of Southern India. Before proceeding to give the preliminary readings of these Brāhmī records and discussing their importance as regards the Dravidio-Aryan elements that may be contained in them, I would try to acquaint the reader with a general description of these very interesting monuments—the natural caverns so called...

"Who were the authors of these beds and Brahmi inscriptions? Firstly, it is useful to inquire whether, previous to their occupation by the authors of these beds and inscriptions, however they might be, there had been others who were using them. Secondly, whether the heds and the inscriptions were contemporaneous. The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya was of opinion that the inscriptions and beds were synchronous, and we may accept his view since stone heds have been noticed in the Buddhistic caves of Bhājā, Kudā, Jannār, Ajanta and Kondivte and since Brāhmī inscriptions in question are sometimes found written on the beds themselves, as already observed. As regards the first question, I may refer to Mr. Parker who, in describing the ancient temples of Ceylon, makes elaborate references to thousands of natural caverns or rockshelters which formed once the abodes of the wild Vaeddas, who, he believes, abandoned them in pre-Chiristian times, just when Buddhists entered Ceylon, and converted these into residences for their ascetics. The Vaeddas themselves are traced by him to the Côla and

Pāṇḍyan Tamils. It is not improbable that as in Ceylon the natural caverns in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts may have been occupied in pre-Buddhistic times by indigenous aborigines who were perhaps the ancestors of the Vaeddas of Ceylon or similar wild hill tribes. One point of difference, however, between these caverns and those of Cyclon is in the provision made in the former for stone beds for the use of the Buddhist occupants. Another is that the language of the Brāhmī inscriptions on these caverns, far from being pure Buddihistic Pāli as in Ceylon, seems to be a mixed dialect in use among the then inhabitants of Southern India, perhaps the Vaedda ancestors spoken of above. Certain peculiarines of the alphabet too which are noticed below may also distinguish these records from the almost contemporaneous Pāli records of Ceylon."

The Dravidian element in the Brahmi inscriptions.

The following are given in Mr. Krishna Sastri's paper as Dravidian words occurring in the inscriptions:—

- koţu kuţū, kuţupitā, koţupitā, kotupitō.—The last three
 of these are compared with the Tamil koţţuvittān caused to
 be cut', and also with Childer's Pāli verb koţţiēti.
- nāţu occurring în Ivañ jenāţu, Euminadu are stated to be 'apparently Tamil'. Nāţu 'a district.'
- Ura, ora or ura occurring in Erukkoţura, Koţiora etc., are equated with the Tamil sr 'a village."
- uļaiyu.—It is stated that this may correspond to uļaiyāņ 'a chief'.
 - 5. ēri, ēri in Tamil means 'a tank '.

These identifications are suggested by Mr. Krishna Saxtri with reserve.

24. THE REAL QUESTION AT ISSUE IS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, NOT BETWEEN ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN.

It will thus be apparent that even in the earliest period of South Indian history there was a mixture of Aryan and Dravidian and as we go further and further back the assumed primitive Dravidian culture recedes further and further from us like a willo' the wisp. Nevertheless, many writers assume such a culture partly on a priori grounds and partly on the evidence of words instanced by Bishop Caldwell and others, We, however, saw on what slender basis it has been assumed that India was trading with the Euphrates valley in the 14th century B.C. and even earlier. We may safely leave out of account such extravagant estimates of the antiquity of South Indian culture and confine our attention to sober views like those for instance of Professor J. Kennedy, who after a detailed examination of the data available, comes to the conclusion that there is no literary or archaeological evidence of any trade between India and the West prior to the 7th century B.C.

It will be seen that Prof. J. Kennedy while narrowly scrutinizing the evidence for early commercial intercourse accepts without question Bishop Caldwell's statement that oryza, tuki, algum etc., are Dravidian names. Hence he infers that the Indian merchants at Nippūr must have come from the west coast of India, which does not exclude the possibility of their having come from Dravidian ports; for, how could the articles traded in have had Dravidian names, it they had not been brought from Dravidian ports?

The ports of Barygaza and Suppāra with which Babylonia traded in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. are unfortunately outside the limits of what is now regarded as Dravidian India and the theory of the articles having had Dravidian names cannot be supported unless it be shown that these ports were within such limits in those early times by interpreting

the 'ancient Tamil Tradition about Peñca Drāvidiam so as to include Mahārāṣṭra and Guzarat. We can now see the full significance and import of Dr. Barnett's Statement, (already quoted).

"Long before the beginning of the Christian Era, the Dravidian south had developed a considerable culture of its own, and its inhabitants had developed themselves into power ful Kingdoms, some of which carried on a thriving trade with western Asia, Egypt and later with the Greek and Roman Empires. The chief of these were the three Tamil Kingdoms, the Andhras, Kalinga and the Mahārāṣṭra." He includes Mahārāṣṭra under Dravidian Kigndoms and appends the following foot-note—

The Tyrians apparenty imported thence ivory, apes and pea-cocks (Tamil tōkai, Gr: Taωs.) as we know from I, Kings, X-22 and II Chronicles, IX-21. Somewhat later we find India—to a large extren Southern India—exporting pepper (πεπερί, Tamil pippall), rice (ορυξά Tamil arici) ginger (ξίγγίβερὶs Tamil iñci-τὸτ) and cinnamon (καρπίου, Tamil Καττιρι or Κᾶτρρι) besides specious stones, coral, pearls, cloth, muslin, silk, tortoise-shell etc. See J. Kennedy J. R. A. S. 1898, pages 241 ff.

In this foot-note Dr. Barneet brings together all the Indian (supposed Dravidian) words on the strength of which a pre-historic Dravidian commerce is postulated. In regard to the Babylonian trade, the knowsfacts of the case are two:—

1. There was a maritime trade between Nippūr and India in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. 2. About the same time articles of Indian provenance such as rice (opega) and peacocks become known in Greece under (supposed) Dravidian names. On these the following superstructure is raised.

i. arici (oryza), tōkai (toas) etc. must have been some of the articles of trade between Nippūr and the Indian ports; ii. these ports were doubtless Barygaza and Suppāra, the former of which was trading with Nappūr in the time of the Periplus;

iii. the articles with (supposed) Dravidian names were transmitted from Nippür to Greece;

 iv. the country about the ports must then have been peopled by Dravidians, an exceedingly probable supposition;
 as,

v. the country now called Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra formed part of the traditional pañca drāvidam of the ancient Tamils; and as,

vi. the Dravidians must once have been in occupation of the whole of the west cosat and of western India as for north as the Panjab, as is clear from the Dravidian influences observable even in the Vedic idioms.

None of the items i to vi is a 'hoistorical fact' as we understand the phrase but all are inferences from assumed premises. It has been pointed out already that there is no Tamil tradition in regard to pañca-drāvidam; that this Indo-Aryan phrase refers to sects of Brahmans, not to regions; and that the supposed Dravidian influences in Indo-Aryan are really Indo-Aryan influences in Dravidian.

a The meaning of the terms Dravidian.

We now proceed to consider whether the words relied on in support of the existence of such trade since the 7th century B.G. are really native South Indian words or have been borrowed by South-Indian Dravidians from the speech of the Aryan or Aryanised immigrants from the North. Here it is necessary at the outset to guard overselves against the ambiguty of language, for many Dravidian scholars seem to think that if an idea or word, common to the Indo-Aryans and the South Indian Dravidians has no counterpart in the Indo-European languages outside India, then the IndoAryans must have borrowed it from the Dravidian language which it is assumed as in the extract from Dr. Barnett's articles above, were spoken in the North and North-west when the Aryans arrived in India. The words 'Dravidian languages, are now applied to a family of languages having certain common characteristics and the vast majority of the speakers of which are confined to South India. This family includes the four cultivated languages dealt with in this book besides a number of minor dialects. This is the sense in which Dr. Barnett used the words and the Dravidian characteristics referred to by Professor Rapson as having been traced in Indo-Aryan idioms are characteristics as found in the Dravidian languages spoken at the present day. We must be careful to use the words 'Dravidian' in this sense and no t in the indefinite sense of 'Pre-Aryan Indian'.

The original home and wanderings of the Indo-Germanic race (Wiros).

It was till recently generally thought that the oldest probable domicile of the Indo-Germanic race was the steppe country of Southern Russia and that at some distant date unknown to us the Aryan or Asiatic Branch of the race the ancestors of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans wandered eastwards from the original home, and were settled for sometime on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, the oasis of Khiva being probably one of the most ancient scats of the Asiatic Branch. Thence, still a united people, they appear to have followed the courses of these rivers into the high-lying country round Khokand and Badakshan, where they separated, one portion marching south, over the Hindu Kush into the valley of the Kabul, and thence into the plains of India; and the other, westwards toward what is now Merv and

Sir G. A. Grierson's article in Vol. I. Census of India 1901. Also Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I.

Eastern and the other, westwards toward what is now Mery and Persia. After the separation, the once common Aryan speech developed on two different lines and became, on the one hand the parent of the Indo-Aryan, and on the other hand, that of the Iranian family of languages.

A new theory in regard to the original home and the wanderings of the Indo-Germanic race which is rapidly gaining ground is expounded by Dr. P. Giles in Chapter III entitled 'Aryans' in Volume I of the Cambridge History of India. In this theory the original home is located in the area comprising modern Hungary, Austria and Bohemia and the route taken by the Eastern Banch is assumed to be across the Bosphorus or Dardanelles and across the plateau of Asia-Minor or along its fertile slopes on the south side of the Black Sea. The recently discovered inscriptions at Boghas Koi in Cappodocia and the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna appear to lend strong suport to this theory which appears to be rapidly supplanting the previous one.

c. North versus South.

Whatever was the original home of the race it is not denied that after separation from the Indo-Europeans, and later from the Iranians, the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan branch of the race must have sojourned in many places and must have developed new ideas by contact with alien races and made additions to their vocabulary. Such new ideas and words may have been evolved ab intra or may have been borrowed, or evolved ab intra in part and borrowed from others in part; if borrowed they need not necessarily have been borrowed from the Dravidians, supposing that Dravidian languages prevailed in the North and North-west when the Aryans arrived in the country. The supposition that they so previled rest wholly on the assumption that Dravidian charactreistics have been traced in Indo-Aryan idioms. The reasons for this assumption are examined in

detail in the next chapter and the conclusion arrived at there is that what are called Dravidian characteristics in Aryan are really Aryan characteristics in Dradivian, that in most of these characteristics, the present Dravidian languages present a dim and distorted image of Indo-Aryan, that the above assumption is due to mistaking the image to be the original and the original to be the image, and that therefore it cannot be held to have been established that the Dravidian languages were spoken in the North and the North-west when the Aryans entered India.

However this may be, the question we are considering in this chapter is somewhat different. The question here is whether there was a pre-Aryan South Indian civilization, that is to say, whether the primitive South Indian Dravidians -speaking languages which have since become Tamil, Malavälam, Kanarese, and Telugu-were in possession of certain ideas and culture at the time when Aryan or Aryanised tribes came from the North and settled among them, or borrowed the ideas and culture from the nothern tribes. The question is not between Aryan and non-Aryan, nor between Aryan. and Dravidian, but between the North and the South. No idea or word can be claimed as belonging to the primitive Dravidian stock of the South which is known, or can be shown to have travelled from the North to Southern India during the Arvan period of Indian history, i.e., after the Aryans had occupied Hindustan or even the Punjab.

In the discussions that follow, the notes given under each word should be taken as in continuation of the notes given in sections 14 and 15 above.

 Greek vryza sanskrit vrihi-s through iranian, or directly from iranian.

Bishop Caldwell's assertion that the Greek oryza was the same as the Tamil arici is still being repeated though philologists and eminent scholars have more than once pointed out that the Greek word cannot be so derived. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea does not mention rice as exported from the Tamil country but only from Barygaza (Broach) and the rice exported from this port is described in the Periplus as produced is Orissa and Ariake. Why should Bishop Caldwell assume that rice was likely to become known in Europe by its Tamil name?

In the 5th Edition of his Greek Etymology published in 1879 four years after the publiation of Bishop Caldwell's Dravdian Grammar (2nd Edition, 1875,) George Curtius says of oryza (page 575):

Skeat quoting Raverty gives (vide Etymological Dictionary of the English Language) the following Old Persian forms preserved in the Pushtu (Afghan):—wrijzey, wrijey rice '; wrijza'h ' a grain of rice'.

There is a discussion on the point in Watt's Commercial Products of India (page 825):—

In spite of the temptation to derive the Arabic alruzz, aruzz, uruzz, wiz, etc., from the Tamil arici modern philogogists are agreed that they cannot be so derived, but come from the Old Persian word viriuzi or viriuza, the modern equivalent of which is biring. Sir C.J. Lyall states that viriuza is exactly the equivalent we should expect of the Sanskrit word for * rice * vrihi, and the names point to the time when the two branches of the Aryan race dwelt together and developed

the respective pecularities of their language from a common or original tongue. The Persians did not borrow the cultivation of rice from the Indians; the plant existed in the region where the two races dwelt together before their respective migrations."

Indo-Germanic philologists tell us that the original Indo-Germanic palatal medial aspirate -gh- had become -zh- in the primitive Aryan period and that this latter sound became -h- in Sanskrit through an intermediate stage -jh-while it became -z- in Iranian and was further changed into -d- in Old Persian (Brug: I Ss. 396-402). They also tell us that the original Indo-Germanic velar medial aspirate -gh- became -jh- in the primitive Aryan stage and that both these latter sounds became de-aspirated in Iranian thus becoming -g- and -j- while in Sanskrit -gh- remained unaffected and -jh became partly -h- and partly -j- (Brug: I. S. 462).

Thus the Greek by-form oryndo referred to by Curtius must have arisen from an Old Persian form *virindo (Iranian * virinzo or *virinzo).

The following table gives a number of Aryan words having -h- or -j- Sanskrit, -z- in Iranian and -d- in Old Persian. 'The words viihi, wrizes, *viriazi, birnj, viriada, which are on all fours with the words in the table must also have been derived from primitive Aryan.

Sanskrit,	Iranian	Old Persian.	Remarks.
1. aham	arem	adamt	The 1st pers: pron: sing: Brug: III. S. 439).
2. hasta	zazta	dasta	'The hand' (Brug: III. S. 263).

BEC, 25]	GREEK GRYZA < SANSKRIT VRIHI-S					
Sanskrit.	Iranian	/ 0	ld Persian		Remarks.	
3. jrayah (extent)	zrayas		drayah draya	'the sea'	(Brug : I. S, 402.	
4 josa ' favour'	zaosa 'favour'		dauster 'friend'	do	do	
5. dehī	uz-daeza		d\$da		(Brug, I: S 405).	
6 g@hati * hides '	gaozaiti hides		gandaya hide		per- do do	
7. wihi	wrijesy wrijey	Pushtu	biring virinda		· rice ·	
	oryza	Greek	arynda birinz		Armenian	

The net result of the discussion is :-

i, that rice was not exported from the Tamil country even so late as the beginning of the Christian era, when there was direct trade between the Malabar coast and Egypt. If rice were exported to Babylonia or European countries from the Malabar ports in earlier times coast-wise, an improbable supposition, it is not necessarily the Tamil name of the article that would have found entrance into the European languages, but the name current in the entre-pots;

ii. that there is, therefore, nor reason to suppose that the European and Arabic names for rice ' were derived from its Tamil name, and

iii. that the Sanskrit, Iranian, Pushtu and Old Persian names for 'rice' appear to be derived from a primitive Aryan name wizhi or wizhi in complete accordance with established sound-laws.

Note.—The change of -z- to -d- is also very common in Singhalese and occurs occasionally in Telugu and Marāthī.

Professor P. T. Srimivasa Aiyangar's assumption that wihi is the Sanskritized form of Tamil arici and Dr. Kittel's surmise that it is derived from Dravidin variki must now be abandoned.

- 26. Tamil arici < Sanskrit orthya or aryan orijhya.
- I. It appears to have been assumed by every body that has taken part in the discussion of the relation between arici and aryza that the former is an original South Indian word; but this is altogether improbable.
- The other South Indian words for 'rice' i.e., the husked grain, are: —Tamil ari; Mal.: ari; Kan.; akke Tulu aoi, akki; Kodagu ikki; Tel. biyyamu.
- 3. The names for unhusked paddy are—Tamil, Malayāļam, Kanarese, nel or nellu; Tel.; vari (sing). vadlu (plural); Singh; wi. The form vari occurs in Tamil poetry and in Malayāļam, but in the latter it means wild uncultivated paddy. Navara in Malayāļam means variety of quick-growing paddy.
- 4. Of these nel, nellu, navara, navira containing an initial nappear to have a different etymology from the rest and will be considered in the next para. Singh: wi and the Tam-Mal. and Tel. vari obviously arise from an apocopated vihi, wi becoming wi and vari; at least this is the derivation which Dr. E. Euller gives of the Singh: wi (I.A. Vol. XI, page 213). The word vari appears to have also existed in Old Persian in the sense of 'paddy'; for sapid vari (Sanskrit 'svēta vrihi) 'white rice' is the name of 'husked rice 'in Modern Persian.
- . 5. Of the names for the husked grain in Kanarese, akki arises from the usual Kan. substitution of -k- for the palatal in arici, while the Mal. and Tulu ari arises from the weakening of -c- into -y-, and the ultimate loss of the last syllabel in arici. Kodagu ikki must have arisen from an original irici.

- 6. The Tamil arici and irici and the Telugu biyyamu though entirely dissimilar in appearance are, it is suggested, derived from the same word vrihya or Vrijhya, secondary formatives meaning 'arising or produced from vrihi or vrijhi', the unhusked grain.
- The conjunct consonant vri—being unfamiliar to Dravidian, vri-will be simplified into vi- or ri- by the elision of one of the consonants, or converted into vari- or viri- by the insertion of a glide vowel between.
- 8. It is a rule in Tamil that final -ya may be replaced by -i. Thus vri pa will have given rise to rici, and varici as all palatal sounds are represented by only one character in Tamil, viz., -c- pronounced -s- when single. The former of these forms with a prothetic vowel will become arici and irici (=akki and ikki), and the latter is apparently the original of the literary Tamil word valci 'food'. The existence of two different prothetics -a- and -i- cleary shows that the original form was rici and that it has been differently treated by the two dialects Tamil and Kodagu. The Telugu biyyamu is obviously derived from vrihya or vrijhya (>viyya, biyya)."
- 9. Another secondary derivative mentioned in the Nighantus is vrailing in the sense of 'place for vrilin' or 'connected with vrilin' which may ultimately become shortened into bayya and baijs. The name of paddy straw which is bai in Tulu and vai in Tamil-Malayā am as in vai-k-kôl (paddy stalks) appears to be derived from baiyya or baiy; these names may also be derived from vari. In any case the initial labial of bai and vai shows their unmistakable cousinship with the Singhalese wi.

Has the Tam-Mal, vaya-l 'a paddy field' any connexion with baiyya < the Taddhita vraihese? Dr. Gundert's Malayāļam Dictionary connects this vayal with the Kan, and Tel, bayal, bayalu, bayalu which are entirely different words meaning outside, publicity, open space etc. and corresponding to Tam-Mal. 'celi' and Sanskrit 'bahir.'

27. DRAVIDIAN nel OR nellu SANSKRIT nivāra:

- I. It will be noted that Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese which used nel or nellu as the name of the unhusked grain (paddy) are employing arici, ari, akki to indicate the husked grain (rice). The words nel, nellu, navara and navira irresistibly remind one of the Vedic nivara whatever may be the origin of this word. It probably signified at first paddy growing wild without cultivation in swamps.
- 2. A fifth form neru is suggested by the Tulu neit ' paddy '; for in a certain class of words final -ii or -ii in Tulu corresponds to -gu in Tamil and Kanarese.

Thus Tulu1 1. dji 'six ' appears as

2. kaniji 'calf' kanru, karu 3. toj 'appear' töngu, töru 4. baji 'empty ' varu, bari, 5. maji 'three'

This justifies the inference that corresponding to Tulu neii there must have been a form *neru ' paddy ' in Tamil and

mingu, mira

Kanarese which must have been the original of the modern nel and nellu. We thus have the following sequence of successive forms niedra, navara, naviga, *negu, nellu, nel.

28. GREEK TETTEPI-SANSKRIT PIPPAH THROUGH TRANIAN.

According to Watt's Commercial Products of India "this is a perennial shrub, native of the hotter parts of India from Nepal eastwards to Assam, the Khasia hills and Bengal, westwards to Bombay, and southwards to Travancore. Cevlon and Malacca. As manifesting antiquity of knowledge

^{1.} Vide foot-note at page XVI of the Preface to Dr. Kittel's Kanarese English Dictionary.

it may be mentioned that the Sanskrit name pippalt was originally given to this plant and only within comparatively recent times it has been transferred to blackpepper. Long-pepper is mentioned by Pliny and is referred to in the Periplus."

Long-pepper is mentioned in the Periphus under the name peperi makeon as one of the exports from Barygaza (Broach) while the pepper exported from the Malabar ports is referred to simply as peperi (Ind: Ant: VIII pages 143 and 147). Long-pepper is also called magadhi (native of Magadha) in Sanskrit which name is reproduced in an old Tamil Nighantu, Cülâmani. The name pippuli occurs in the vocabularies of Tamil, Malayālam, Kanarese and Telugu; it exists also in the form 'tippuli in the popular dialects of the first three, t-being substituted for the initial p- in popular speech as the result of dissimilation, just as the Sanskrit pipilikā 'an ant' becomes kupullika in Pāli.

Brugmann says "Old Iranian had only -r- as opposed to the Armenian-European -r- and -l- and Sanskrit -r- and -l-. Old Persian had -l- only in loan words "1 (Vol I, page 209).

In the Linguistic Survey of India we find—" Most European languages possess an -l- as well as an -r-.....

In Sanskrit -l- is used in many words where other languages have -r- and cice versa. The Old Iranian dialects did not possess and -l- and its irregular use in Indo-Aryan makes it probable that we are face to face with an alien

Dr. P. Giles says (Cambridge History of India Vol. I, page 741) "In India -r- is often found in words where the languages of the same stock in Europe show -l-; -l- also, though not as frequently, found for -r-; in the Old Persian of the achaemenid inscription -l- is found only in two foreign words and has otherwise been entirely replaced by -r-."

influence. Now it seems almost certain that such an influence can only have been Dravidian. The change of -r- to -l- is, as has long ago been pointed out by Bishop Caldwell, quite common in Dravidian Languages (Vol. I page 279)".

Bishop Caldwell says "In the Dravidian family this interchange of -r- and -l- is one of very common occurrence. Sometimes -l- is corrupted into -r-; but in large number of cases -r- appears to be the original and -l- the corruption. . . . This change of -r- to -l- though not uniform is an exceedingly common one, and one which may be regarded as characteristic of colloquial Tamil. It is common in Malayālam also. Seeing that a tendency to change -r- to -l- exists and operates in Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil, it may be concluded that in those ancient roots which are the common property of several families of languages and in which an interchange appears to exist between -r- and -l-, -r- was the original and -l- the altered sound that is, that the form with -l- is less ancient than the form with -r-." C.D.G. page 56.

The change of the -l- of pippali into -r- of \(\pi = \pi \rho i\) shows that the Greeks must have first become acquainted with the article through the Iranians at a time when there was no -l- in the Iranian alphabet (e. f. Weber I.A. Vol. II, pages 146, 147); that is before the Achaemenian (500 B.C.) or Old Persian period when they had learnt to tolerate -l- in loan words. As there do not appear to have been any exports of 'longer-pepper' from the Malabar ports even so late as the time of the Periplus it would seem that pippali was not a southern word but a North Indian word which travelled south along with the pippali industry, i.e., the cultivation of pippali and the collection of pippali fruits as forest produce. The Greeks had become acquainted with the article long, long before South Indian began to export it.

TAMIL milaku < SANSKRIT marica — PRAKRIT mirc.

But what about piper nigrum which was for long ages the special product of Malabar and to secure the trade in which the Greeks and the Moors vied with each other? Long-peoper used chiefly in medicine is not much in evidence before the public, while 'black-pepper' enters into the daily food of the people. What is the Tamil-Malavalam mame for the latter? And was this name imposed upon the world and adopted in other languages as one would expect would have been the case under the circumstances? The Sanskrit name for it is martea and various tadbhavas from it are in use in Northern India, such as, gul-mise, miri, miri-cung, etc. Telugu, as usual, adheres closely to the Sanskrit form, and has miriyamu, miremu (singular); miriyalu (plural). Kanarese has menasu, melasu and melasu; Tulu munaci; and Tamil-Malayalam milaku, thus showing the difficulty experienced in the Dravidian country in pronouncing a North Indian -n-. Having regard to Bishop Caldwell's rule in regard to the interchange of -r- and -lthe Tamil form is obviously drived from, and is later than, the Sanskrit form.

In old Tamil black-pepper was also called kari, a word not in popular use at present except in the sense of 'pungent condiments' in which 'black-pepper' or 'capsicum' is a chief ingredient; this word appears to be derived from the Sanskrit khara' sharp, pungent 'which is Indo-Germanic in origin.

There is also a Vedic root marc *mre! which means *hurt, injure and the participle *marcayat *means *keen

yat kşurena marcayatā supesasā vaptrā vapasi kejān.
 When you remove the hair with a sharp burnished * razor.
 (Ekāgnikānda II-1).

sharp'; the word marica appears to be connected with this root. The Avesta has a root mark (mordinal) 'kill.'

It is claimed by Dravidian scholars that pippali is a Dravidian word on the a priori ground apparently that a Dravidian product should have a Dravidian name. But the Greek form wêmepî îs not synchronous with the pre-Aryan period of Indian history, for if the Iranians had then spread over Iran as far as the Persian Gulf it is natural to presume that the Indo-Aryans also had spread over a considerable portion of Hindustan. Further when the word came to South India the true Dravidians here were unable to pronounce it correctly and substituted ti for pi-.

Throughout India at all times pippali meant only long-pepper', and this, which gave rise to the Greek name wever appears to have been the only pepper known to the Greeks at first. Black-pepper piper nigrum was obviously unknown outside Malabar at first. When subsequently this article became known to the Greeks the name were appears to have been transferred to it, pippali becoming the Greek peperi makron thereafter. The names milaku, markon or mirach never got adopted in Europe.

It would seem from the facts stated above that pippali and mirch are North Indian words that have been adopted in South India in the Aryan period of Indian history. The first Greek writer to mention pepper belonged to the 4th century B.C. There is no evidence that the primitive South Indians knew of its properties or cared to cultivate it prior to the arrival of the Aryans in Malabar.

30. тами. karappa, karuvā<Arania qarfah<Greek Кагрыга.

Ctesias's Carpion.—Ctesias had exceptional opportunities for acquiring knowledge about India since he resided for seventeen years at the Persian court as physician to the kingArtaxerxes Mnemon. He has, however, been condemned as a deliberate liar not only by the consentient voice of antiquity but also by the generality of the learned in modern times. The following is taken from an article (Chapter XVI) by Mr. E. R. Bevan, M.A., in the Cambridge History of India (Vol. I, page 397):

"Ctesias apparently was a deliberate liar. Modern writers urge that some of his monstresities-his dog-faced men, his pygmies and so on-can be paralleled by the statements in old Indian books. 'This shows that Ctesias was not above saving himself the trouble of fresh invention when statements sufficiently sensational were furnished him by other..... One of his most monstrous animals, the creature as large as a lion, with a human face, which shoots stings out of the end of his tail, called in the Indian language, says Ctesias, martikhora-as a matter of fact the word is Persian-Ctesias affirms that he had himself seen, as one was sent as a present to the Persian King. This gives the measure of the man. No doubt his wildest statements about the fauna and flora of India can, if sufficiently trimmed, be made to fear a sort of resemblance to something real, but it seems ingenuity wasted to attempt to establish these connexions."

Bishop Caldwell, has, however, exercised his ingenuity to establish such a connexion between karpion and the Tamil-Malayālam karappa (-t-tailam) 'cinnamon oil' and karavā-(p-paṭṭai)' cinnamon bark.' It will be noted that Ctesias's karpion is on all fours with his martikhora, an imaginary thing, having an imaginary Indian name stated to have been presented to the Persian King and to have been seen personally by Ctesias.

Gtesias was a physician, and a physician to a king and a man of talent. He would certainly have known cinnamon —Greek karphea (dry twigs)—which the Greeks called kinnomomon after the Phoenicians. He does not use either of these words in connexion with the Indian tree exuding the fragrant oil, but distinctly says that the Greeks called it environda (unguent roses) and his description of the oil refers only to its extra-ordinary smell and fragrance and seems to show that it was prized only as an unguent. There is nothing in it to suggest pungent taste. Bishop Caldwell's assumption that Ctesias referred to cinnamon oil and that his glowing description applied to the coarse, inferior Malabar trees which are very poor in oil is hardly justifiable. Khara rough, hor, pungent' is an Indo-Aryan word of Indo-Germanie origin; there is a Vedic word ksara ' acid, caustic, pungent' of which the Praket khara and the Dravidian karam 'pungency' are tadbhavas. It has already been suggested that the Tamil kari black pepper, pungent condiments' appears to be derived from Khara. It is possible to form derivatives karuppu, kārppu pungency from khara and kūru,' but such derivatives are not now in use either in Tamil or in Malayalam. It will be shown in a latter part of this work that -pu the Dravidian suffix forming verbal nouns and abstract nouns is of Aryan origin. It will thus be seen that if, as is held by Bishop Caldwell, the words karappa and karuzā are of Indian origin, then their bases and terminations are both Aryan.

But they do not appear to be of Indian origin. Their most probable derivation is that given in Dr. Gundert's Malayalam-English Dictionary, viz., that they are traceable to the Greek karphea through the Arabic qarfah. The most decisive argument against Bishop Caldwell's assumption is that cinnamon is not mentioned as an Indian export in the Periplus. China then supplied fine cinnamon and the trade in the coarse, inferior Malabar stuff had probably not yet begun. It is hardly likely as supposed by Mr. Schoff that

the Malabar stuff was kept from the knowledge of the Greek traders and secretly sold to the Arabs.

TAMIL iñei < SANSKRIT ŝeñgi OR Ŝeñgabera.

The names given to this article in the Indian languages, especially Dravidian, are most instructive, Ginger was originally a special product of Malabar and is an indispensable requisite in every household either green or in a dry state. Green ginger is called ardrakam 'moist, wet, liquefying' in Sanskrit and dry ginger suskardrakam or merely suskam which is an Indo-German word meaning 'dry' (Brug; I sections 332, 413). There is also a Sanskrit root sunth 'purify, dry up, from which two derivatives are formed sunth and sunthyam both of which are also used names of dried ginger.

In addition to these, there is the word spingareram, Pali singivaram, which is applied both to the green and the dry articles; Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary of the English Language explains this word as "hornshaped from the horns on it."

It is well known that the Sanskrit ārdra has become allat in some of the Prākṛts (P.P.G.S. 294); and ārdraka in the forms alla, allamu is in use in Telugu, Kanarese and literary Tamil in the sense of 'green ginger'; the word appears to exist also in the northern vernaculars in the forms of ādrak, āda, ālē, allam, as the name of the plant.

Sunthi exists as sonth in Telugu, sunt in Kanarese and conds in Malayalam and all these words mean dry ginger cukku is the form which suska assumes in Tamil-Malayalam and also means dry ginger. Saunthi appears also to exist in the northern vernaculars as sonth, sundh, sunth, sunth, sunth.

^{1.} C. F. Pall allatears "having a wet cleara".

The above were the usual etymologies given of the various Indian names for 'green ginger' and 'dry ginger' till Drs. Gundert and Kittel appeared on the scene. Dr. Gundert derived sunthi from Dravidian eurul 'contract, shrivel up, shrink." Dr. Kittel pointed out that ' dry ginger ' was called cukku, cucca, cuccu, cunti, conti, conri in Tamil and compared these words with the Dravidian root (curka Tamil curunku) ' contract, shrivel up, shrink'; the last six names are obviously derived from two different bases suska and sunthya, but Dr. Kittle does not apparently note this and derives them all from one root. It is in view of these forms with an initial s- or c- that Bishop Caldwell and Drs. Burnell and Gundert considered that the Tamil inci must have had an initial s- formerly, that the Sanskrit srngabera was an imitation of the (supposititious) Tamil cificiper and that the European zingiber was derived from the Tamil name.

There is absolutely no reason to suppose, as Dr. Burnell did, that the Sanskrit Pandits converted cincioer into stragabera with the object of disguising the Tamil origin of the word. There are several other plant and vegetable names in Sanskrit containing straga:

- I, karkatasriigi name of a tree;
- 2. ajasriigi, a plant having fruits like goats' horns;
- 4. spngl, spngikā which denote (a) a kind of medicinal plant (b) a kind of poison;
- 5. srngakandah ;
- 6. sriigakah;
- 7. śrngajam;

Spingabera means 'horn shaped' or 'antler shaped' and aptly describes the root of the ginger plant; in Singhalese spingabera has become hingur, later ingur; and it is likely that the Tamil inci is only a corrupt appocopated form of this word or of Spingika or Spingi.

SEC. 31] TAMIL illici < SANSKRIT STRIGE

Tamil reduces the initial conjunct consonant sp-of Sanskrit words to s- and ultimately elides it. Before adopting the words as its own, it also elides s- and s- in most Sanskrit words as can be seen from the following table:—

Sanskrit	Meaning	Tamil form.
framaņa	Buddhist mendicant	camana amana
śravana	Name of month	âvaņi
śrona	Name of a constella-	ōṇam
śravisthä	tion. -do-	aviţţam
śresthi Pali : sētthi }	Foreman of a guild, a wealthy merchant	cetti; etti, (title given by king).
śreni	A line, a row	
Pāli : nisseni	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Telugu }	A ladder J	ēņi (a ladder)
śrotra	Revealed scriptures	ôttu
āśrita	Dependent (adj.)	äytam (a depen- dent letter)
mārgasīra	Name of a month	mārkali
sarṣapa Pāli : sāsapa}	mustard.	{Tam : aiyavi Tel : āvālu
sīsa	lead	īyam
śmaśru	hair	mayir
šmašāna)	a cemetery	mayāṇam
simhala }		1]am
Pāli : sihala	Ceylon	
sahasra	one thousand	āyiram.

Sanskrit	Meaning	Tamil form
sneha	oil	ney
süci	a needle	ūci
sabhā	an assembly	avai
suparņa	having beautiful features,	Uvaņa
samaya	fit time, opportunity	amaya
fulka	toll	ulku
sarpa (*sarap)	a snake	aravam
sandhyā	evening	anti
śataka	cloth	āţai

ālāpasallāpa intimate and familiar conversation : alavalāvu...

These instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Dr. Burnell's remarks extracted previously deserve consideration, but unfortunarelly the Periplus does not mentionany exports of ginger from the Tamil country or from India-The cultivation of the plant, at any rate for export purposes, seems to have been of late growth and there is no valid reasons to postulate a suppositious cinciver especially asallam, čukku, nosti and sonti are of Aryan origin. Probably the cultivation of the plant began only after the establishment of Aryan colonies in South India and taking all circumstances into consideration it looks as if the Tamil ifici is a corruption of the Sanskrit spitgl, as the Singhalese ingur and hingur are of Syngabera. Further the assumed loss of an initial e- or s- is itself an admission that the word is foreign. Why should there be any loss in indigenous word to which people have long been accustomed? It is only in strange foreign words that such changes occur.

Sanskrit mayūra, nīvāra, agaru North Indian jōwār,

We are now in a position to decide definitely as to the claim for priority between (1) may are and mayil 'peafowl';

(2) nivara and nel ' unhusked rice'; agara and akil ' Aquilaria Agallocbum'; (4) jowar and colam 'Sorghum Vulgare." The Sanskrit forms containing the liquid r are clearly the earlier ones and the Tamil form containing I are derived therefrom. In regard to akil however the contention of Bishop Cadwell must be conceded, viz, that it was the original of the Hebrew word ahalim or ahaloth, not the Sanskrit word agaru (C.D.G. Intro ; Page 92), for it is well known that in Tamil an intervocal single k is not pronounced like the English & but nearly like the English h; its exact sound is that of a deep guttaral spirant. Thus pakal "day-time, tokai a tail, vēkam smell, pākam share etc. are pronounced nearly like pahal, tāhai, vēham, pāham etc., and the Tamil aki pronounced akil is more likely to have given rise to the Hebrew ahalim than the Sanskrit agary (which is aguru) pronounced as it is written though it may have been the original of the Tamil akil;

(b) Sanskrit candana 'sandalwood.'

The following is an extract from para 39 of McCrindle's introduction to his translation of the Periplus (I. A. Vol. VIII, page 15).

4.39. Σανδαρακη and σασάμωναξύλ Logos of Sandalwood and Sasama (santatum album) exported from Barygaza to the ports of Omana and Apologos (36).

Σαντάλινα is a correction of the Ms. reading σαγάλινα proposed by Salmasius. Kosmos Indikopleustes calls sandal-wood τξαδάνα. For σασάμινα of the Ms., Mr. Stuckius proposed σησάμινα—a futile emendation, since seasme is known only as a leguminous plant from which an oil is expressed, and not as a tree. But possibly red-saunders wood (Pterocarpus santalinus) may be meant."

There is no doubt that sandalwood is a special product of South India, about seven-eighths¹ of the world's supply being produced in Mysore; in old times it must have been a monopoly of South India. Red-saunders too is confined to South India¹. There is no mention of it either in the Periplus among the exports from South Indian ports; but certain logs of wood are mentioned among the exports from Barygaza (Broach) which Salmasius by an emendation of the text takes to be σανάλτνα sandalwood. The real sandalwood is first mentioned centuries later by Kosmos Indikopleustes as τξαδανα. It is doubtful whether the Periplus really means sandalwood or red-saunders, by Σανδαρακη and σασαμώνη mentioned among the exports from Barygaza; having regard to the localities in which they are now produced there is no warrant for such an assumption.

Unless fresh evidence is forthcoming we must conclude that there were no exports of sandalwood logs from South India even so late as the beginning of the Christian era, when the country had become partly Aryanized.

Lastly sandana cannot be a pure Tamil name; for according to Tolkappiyam I-62, no Tamil word can begin with ca.

(c) Hebrew Almug, Algum.

These words need not detain us long. Almuggin and algummin were brought to Solomon from Ophir as hewn timber in immense quantities and used for props; the girth of sandal wood is not sufficiently large for such a purpose; and as pointed out by Professor J. Kennedy few materials are less fitted than sandalwood for such a purpose. This appears to be also the opinion of other scholars. The identification of algum with sandalwood must therefore be given up.

^{1.} Watt's Commercial Products, page 978.

^{2.} Ibid, page 909.

It may be mentioned in passing that the Sanskrit valguka means also 'woop' generally,

It is unnecessary to stop here to consider Bishop Caldwell's suggestion that Sanskrit valgu(ka) is derived from the Tamil ala-ku or ala-ku 'beauty; these words seem to be related to the Sanskrit alam-kr, 'adorn'.

33. Henrew tuki- Greek + a & s :

OLD TAMIL tokai.

- (a) The identification of the Hebrew tuk (with the old Tamil tōkai 'a peacock was one of Bishop Caldwell's earliest, and by assuming a dialectic variety togel for the latter word he has connected the Arabic tawas Greek τ α ῶ το Latin pavo, English peacock) with the Tamil word. These relationships having been accepted by Professor Max Muller, all subsequent writers have assumed these equations as a matter of course and regard them as unassailable as propositions in pure mathematics. There are, however, insuperable objections to the identification. The meanings of tōkai and the connected words in the Dravidian languages are as follows:—
 - 1. Tamil, tôkai: 'plumage, a tail, a peacok's tail, skirt or order of a cloth, a peacock.'
 - Malayalam, tōka: 'what hangs down, a tail,' tongal: 'frapery, plumage, pendulous ornament,'
 - Kanarese. töke 'anything that hangs down, a tail.'
- sõge, sõgu: (1) ' the peculiar leaf of palms, sugarcane and the screw pine;
 - (2) a peacock's feather or tail :
 - (3) a ship's rudder;
 - (4) a peacok.
 - 4. Telugu. toka: a tail.

In Marathi soga means ' the skirt of a garment, crailing on the ground.'

It will be seen from the above that tōkai usually means a tail in Dravidian languages and that Tamil is the only language in which the word means a peacock, i.e., the bird with the tail, and even here it is only in Old Tamil that has come down to us in poetical works of the early Christian centuries that the word means a male peacock by a figure of speech. The corresponding word in Kanarese is sōgs which means a tail and a peacock. In this language sōgs navil a navil with a tail means a peacock as opposed to a peachen; here also it is by a figure of speech that sōgs has come to mean the male of the species.

Instances are given later on, of initial z- having become t-in Tamil and one possible explanation is that the Dravidian toka 'a tail' and the Kanarese soge 'a peacock' have fallen together in the Tamil tokai.

- (b) It may be doubted, indeed, whether tôkai in the secondary sense of a peacock ever got into ordinary speech. Another serious objection to Bishop Caldwell's identification is that the rendering tôkai should be tâhi in Hebrew characters, not tâki. For intervocal single -k- is, as explained by Bishop Caldwell himself, pronounced like -h- in Tamil (C.D.G. pages 23-24) An exactly parallel case is that of the Tamil akil (S. agara) Aquilaria Agallocha which appears as ahalin, ahaloth in the Hebrew Text in the Proverbs, which Bishop Caldwell says should be derived from the Tamil akil and not the Sanskrit agara.
- (c) Pea-fowls are now plentiful in all the drier parts of India and abound in Gujarat, Kach and Rajputana. On would expect that it is the name current in Barygaza.

Manimekalai XIX-62 where tokai means the male of the species.

or thereabouts that would travel with the bird to Babylonia. How does it happen that the Tamil name of the bird goes to the court of Solomon? When it was believed that Ophir was in South India or thereabours and that Phoenicians and Solomon's servants voyaged down the Malabar coast once in three years it might have been accepted without question that Solomon's peacocks were produced from the Tamil country. It is now believed by most scholars that Opir was not in India. Mr. Schoff thinks that "the location of Ophir in India is impossible." It is also certain that pea-fowls were procurable in Northern India. It is, therefore, a priori imporbable that the Hebrew take is derived from the Tamil name for 'peacock.'

For these reasons it is impossible to accept Bishop Caldwell's identification.

(d) In Chapter XVI of Volume 1 of the Cambridge History of India Mr. E. R. Bevan says:—

"The peacock which was introduced into Greece during the second half of the fifth century B.C. retained in his designations evidences both of his Indian origin and of the route—via the Persian empire—by which he had been conveyed (Mysikas Osvis)" (page 396). It is not merely the Indian origin that is involved here; Bishop Caldwell's explanation of raŵs is based on the assumption that the bird was procured from the Tamil country, the southernmost portion of the peninsula. Of course it does not occur to Mr. Bevan to call into question the usually accepted explanation of the Greek raŵs and he reconciles the two explanations. It is, however, clear that the Greeks thought that the peacock was a native of Media, not of India. We have seen that ayza and poperi were derived by the Greeks from words current in Persia. Similarly Arabic fawas

^{1.} Translation of the Periplus-p. 170.

and Greek might $\tau a \hat{\omega} v$ have been derived from a name current in Media or thereabouts. The objections to Bishop Caldwell's derivation of these words from Tamil $t \delta k a i$ are :

1. There is no dialectic variety togei; Bishop Galdwell transliterates intervocal single -k- by the character -g- but he admits that both in Tamil and in Malayalam intervocal

single -k- is pronounced like -h- (C.D. G. p. 23).

2. He does not account for the initial cerebral of the Arabic word. It is hardly likely that the Arabic name is derived from the Greek word. It is thus clear that the original of the Hebrew taki and the Greek + a w s must be sought for outside the Tamil country.

(e) It may finally be pointed out that the root toor tu- and the suffix -ku- of the base tonu have Aryan affinities, the suffx being a modification of the Aryan root kr * to do.*

34. CONCLUSION.

What is known as Dravidian civilization is really the civilization of Aryan and Aryanized immigrants from the North.

We have now discussed most of the evidence relied upon in support of the assumed existence of a pre-Aryan material civilization in Southern India. This evidence consists merely of a number of European and Hebrew words claimed to be Dravidian and non-Aryan: viz., Oryza, gingiber, karpion, algum, tāki.

The earliest reliable account of Soth Indian trade is furnished by the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, which may be taken to describe this trade as it existed in the first three centuries of the Christain era, South India, especially, the Tamil land, then appears as carrying on a direct maritime trade with Egypt, the chief exports from South India being black pepper and pearls of superior quality in great quantity, ivory, fine siks, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum transparent precious stores, diamonds, jacinths, tortoise shall

etc. But this was in a period subsequent to the establishment of very many Aryan colonies in the south if not also to the Aryanization of the south and subsequent also to the establishment of a direct intercourse with Africa and the Red Sea coast by the discovery by Hippalus in the first century A. D. of the annual monsoons. In earlier times the trade of Southern India with foreign countries was carried on entirely by coasting vessels. The clay tablets uncarthed in Babylonia disclose that in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. there was a maritime trade between the west coast of India and that country, but this trade appears to have been carried on with the ports of Barygaza and Suppara and not with any ports in Dravidian India. Barygaza and Suppara were apparently entreports for the South Indian trade at the time,

1. Oryza.-From the Periplus we find that the only Indian port that exported rice in the first three centuries of the Christian era was Barygaza and that the Malabar ports did not export this commodity even after the establishment of direct trade with the Greeks. If we also remember that Malabar has now to import part of the rice required for her consumption, it will be seen how improbable it is that the South Indian name for rice should ever get known to the Greeks or get adopted in the Greek language. As a matter of fact philologists including Pott, Benfey, Curtius, Pictet and Skeat are agreed that the word oryza, which it may be noted in passing was in use in Greece even in the 5th century B.C., is from a lost Iranian word which is equivalent to the Sanskrit orthi according to the laws of letter change obtaining between the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. Thus the Sanskrit orthi is not a word coined on Indian soil but belongs to the stock of the words inherited by Sanskrit from the Indo-Iranian parent tongue.

The names for rice in use in the South Indian languages look like the debris of the Sanskrit with or vrijhi.

Telugu . vari Malayalam . ari Tamil . arici

Kanarese .. akki (ariki—arifi) Kodagu .. ikki (iriki—irisi)

Dr. Kittel constructed out of these debris a suppositutious 'varigi' and asserted that the Sanskrit viili was derived from this. This theory must now be given up in view of the fact that willi must have had its origin in Central or Western Asia where the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians were living together. But was there a non-Aryan South Indian form varigi? If so, it is indeed surprising that the Indo-Iranians in Central or Western Asia and the Dravidians in South India should have independently hit upon two names for rice so nearly alike.

Further, Dr. Kittle's word does not account for the Telugu bijyamu which obviously is the Sanskrit secondary formation wiliyam, nor for the wt of Singhalese, the vai, bat of Tamil and Tulu. There seems to be little doubt that the European names for "rice" are derived from the lost Iranian wrizey, while the South Indian names are derived from the Sanskrit wiliya or wijhya.

The hypothetic form varigi of Dr. Kittel reminds one of the Telugu grains variga and varaga and the Tamil grains variatu, këlearaku (rāgi). If these also are to be traced to the Sanskrit vrihi (previously vrlijhi and vrighi), as apparently they should, then South India must be poor indeed in indigenous grain names. Naturally so: for, as pointed out by Sir J. H. Marshall, when the North Indian Aryans at last broke through the barriers of hill and jungle that separated them from the Dekkan and penetrated in the South in the first milliennium B.C., they found the South Indians in the neo-lithic stage of culture.

- (b) zingiber :- The Periplus does not mention any exports of ginger from any Indian port at all. There is no mention of any Greek name for this commodity dating from the pre-Christian era. The trade in this commodity thus appears to have come into existence late. Drs. Gundert and Kittel mix up the various South Indian names of this article derived from three different roots of which inci, cukku, cunfi are types and construct therefrom a hypothetical Sinciper, asserting that the Greek word ' ziggiberis' is derived from this form and that the Sanskrit Srn gabera was a pedantic modification of the same form. As pointed out above, there are undoubted Sanskrit names containing the conjunct ir- which Tamil has dropped when adopting the names and Srigi would have become inci in the usual course in Tamil. The Greek name is apparently of late origin, dating long after the establishment of Aryan colonies in the South.
- (c) nivited is another word of importance in this connection, of which navira, navara, nel and nellu are obvious corruptions and the three words with, nivited and Sringabera have an important bearing on certin aspects of South Indian cilivization. Vrihi and nivited occur in the Vedas and Sringabera is also very old being found in Pali in the form Singipera.

The representatives of sindra are found in four languages of Southern India, Tamil, Malayāļam, Kanarese and Tuļu; the representatives of singabra are found in Tamil, Malayālam and Singhalese, while those of Suska (dried ginger) an Indo-Iranian word, are found only in Tamil and Malayālam. The representatives of with exist only in Telugu, Kanarese, Tuļu, Malayālam, Tamil and Singhalese. The popular names of these articles in other parts of India are generally derived from words admitted into Sanskrit in later times. This fact seems to show that the people who

Vide names in Watts' Dictionary of Economic Products of India.

brought the above words to South India must have been in contact with the Nothern Aryans during Vedic times and must have separated from them before the latter had adopted other and later names for the articles.

- (d) karpion :- The Cimnamon trees of Malabar appear to be of a very inferior kind and the main use to which their bark is now put appears to be to adulterate the Chinese bark1. The Periplus mentions no exports of Ginnamon from India. The Cassia leaf exported in the time of the Periplus, if any Malabar leaf was exported, must have been grouped under Malabathrum. This Malabathrum though exported from Malabar ports appears to have been a product of the interior* or to have come from outside India (Paras, 56, 63 and 65 of the Periplus). It is unlikely that Ctesias's glowing description has any reference to these inferior trees. The names karappu and karuva are not mentioned in the Periplus and appear to be very late reflexes of the Arabic names kerfat and gartah traceable to the Greek kerphea which is at least as old as the time of Herodotus and older than that of Ctesius, If the names karappu and karand are Indian words, then they are of Aryan origin, for both the base kersharp and the suffix -pu are Aryan.
 - (e) algum.—There were no exports of sandalwood from any South Indian port at the time of the Periplus. There were exports of some wood from Barygaza which by an emendation of the text of the Periplus, have been understood to be sandalwood. Considering the distance of Barygaza from Mysore and the Western Ghats, the places of production of sandal, it is unlikely that the wood exported from Barygaza was sandalwood. As pointed out by Professor J. Kennedy

^{1.} P. 315 Ibid.

^{2. &}quot;All brought from countries further east" according to McCrindle.

sandalwood is not of sufficient girth for use as pillars and propsetc., and it is unlikely that the algum and almug of the Hebrew texts meant sandalwood. Bishop Caldwell's identification of algum with the Tamil alaku 'beauty' is fantastic, to say the least of it, the suffix -ku of the alaku is probably from the Sanskrit root kr 'do' and the word is obviously related to the S. alamkr (v.—t.) 'adorn'.

(f) taki. In regard to peacocks it is unnecessary to repeat the objections detailed above to the identification of the Hebrew taki with the Tamil tokai, and of the Arabic tawas and Greek raws with a hypothetical Tamil togei, But the identifications, even if admitted, do not materially strengthen the theory of a Dravidian civilization. If peacocks were once confined to Southern India, an improbable supposition, then they must have borne a South Indian name wherever they were transported, and there would be nothing surprising in the Hebrew name for its being derived from a Tamil word. This fact will only show that the bird was a native of South India and gives no indication as to the state of civilization of South Indians at the time. The real implication lies in the picture, which Bishop Caldwell tacked to his identification, of the Phoenician merchants and Solomon's servants making voyages once in three years down the Malabar coast towards Ophir for bringing gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks . This still continues to fascinate a few Dravidian scholars.

In conclusion algum appears to be some unknown foreign word which Professor Max Muller and Bishop Caldwell thought to be Indian. Karpion which rests solely on the authority of Ctesias had perhaps no South Indian connection. Ariei and inci are obviously corruptions of North Indian words.

The theory of a pre-Aryan, South Indian civilizatio therefore fails to the extent to which it is thought to be sup-

ported by the testimony of these words, Nellu, tippali or pippali and milaku also have come from the north. That black-pepper, the practical monopoly of the Malabar coast in the past and so cagerly sought after by the Europeans, is not known by its South Indian names kari or milaku in Europe indicates that these names came late in the field. So far as an inference can be formed from the testimony of the words mentioned above, we can safely say that what is known as the Dravidian civilization of the South is really the civilization of Aryan and Aryanised immigrants from the North.

The discussion in this chapter and the extracts from various authors who have written about South India bring out how little is known in Europe about the real South India of the past and how apt scholars are to repeat the statements of previous writers without much scrutiny. Such statements frequently repeated acquire a progressively increasing fictitious authority as years roll on. It has thus come about that people think that karpion is a Greek word, that Damirike is a good transliteration of Tamilakam and that with and Drāvida are Sanskritised forms of arici and Tamil.

It is also surprising that historians should implicitly accept certain details of ancient South Indian history which the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai evolved out of his inner consciousness, namely that the ancient inhabitants of South India were villavars and migavars, literally 'hunters and fishermen', that these were conquered by a civilized race called Nagas who were in their turn displaced by Mongolians from Central Asia who reached India through Tibet and the Himalayan passes. The first two items find a place in Mr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India and in the Cambridge History of India. The last item is not noticed in these books as the theory of a Mongolian irruption through middle Himalayan

passes is opposed to the current theory, that the Dravidians came from the highlands of Western Asia and entered India by the North-West.

Even a writer like Professor J. Kennedy who has reexamined the evidence usually accepted without question in proof of the ancient maritime trade between India and Babylonia and has rejected part of it, has expressed the opinion that 'rice, peacock', etc., were known in Greece in the 5th Century B.C. by their Dravidian, i.e. Tamil names. This was, however, unavoidable as the greatest authority on South Indian languages had declared that oryza, tawas, algum, etc., were derived from Tamil words. Bishop Caldwell was indeed a great magician. He pronounced a spell and there sprung up a vision of Phoenician seamen voyaging with Solomon's servants down the West coast of India to Ophir once in three years to bring gold, silver, algum, peacocks and apes-This vision still fascinates some Dravidian scholars, though it has been pointed that the Hebrew algum was not wanted for its scent, but to be used as props and pillars for which sandalwood was wholly unfitted, that peacocks could be had in plenty in Guzerat and that there was no gold or silver for export from India. The whole vision rests on Bishop Caldwell's opinion that oryza, algum, and tawas are derived from Tamil words. It is time that the spell is broken.

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLEGED DRAVIDIAN CHARACTERISTICS IN INDO-ARYAN.

35. THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENT IN SANSKRIT VOCABULARY.

The changes stated to have been introduced into the Aryan dialects of India by the influence of the Dravidian languages are arranged by the Editors of the Linguistic Survey under three heads:

- 1. Vocabulary,
- 2. Phonology and
- 3. Inflexional system.

In regard to the first head, some scholars appear to hold the extreme view that all words common to Dravidian and Sanskrit which are not traceable in any of the other Indo-Germanic languages, must have been borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages.

Professor Sten Konow gives a fair summary of the controversy on this point in the Linguistic Survey of India, (Vol. iv, pp. 278—9).

"There are in all Indo-Aryan languages a considerable number of words which cannot apparently be identified in other Indo-European languages. This is specially the case in modern vernaculars and the old opinion was that such words had, generally speaking, been borrowed from the language of the tribes which inhabited India before the Aryan invasion. The steady progress of philological studies in later years has enabled us to retrace an ever-increasing portion of such words to Sanskrit, and many scholars now hold that there have hardly been any loans at all. It has, however, been overlooked that it is not sufficient to show that a word is found in Sanskrit or even in the Vedic dialects,

in order to prove that it belonged to the original language of the Aryans. If Bishop Caldwell is right in the opinion just quoted, the foreign element must reach back into the oldest times, and it is necessary to trace the dubious words not only in Sanskrit but also in other languages of the Indo-European family. This is exactly what modern philology has in many cases failed to do. There are, for example, a number of verbal roots in Sanskrit which do not appear to occur in other Indo-European forms of speech. The same is the case with a considerable portion of the vocabulary. We cannot here go into details, the less so, because we do not as yet possess a complete etymological dictionary of Sanskrit, There is, however, every probability for the supposition that at least a considerable portion of such words and bases has been borrowed from the Dravidas. Lists of such words will be found in most of the works dealing with Dravidian philology, e.g.-in Bishop Caldwell's Grammar and in the Rev. F. Kittel's Kanarese Dictionary. I shall only mention one instance. The word Siva is already in the Vedas used as an epithet of the God Rudra and it is known that Siva has become one of the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. It has been asserted that this use of the word Siza must be explained from a Dravidian Sina 'red'. Now the word Rudra in the Rg Veda often seems to mean 'red', and it seems probable that the conception of the God Rudra-Siva has a tinge of Dravidian ideas. I have mentioned this word because it shows how fundamental the Dravidian influence on the Aryans can have been, not only philologically, but also on the whole method of thought."

According to an analysis made many years ago by Professor Edgern, 530 of the Sanskrit roots given in the Dhātupāṭha have representatives in Greek or in the Iranian, the Italic, the Teutonic, the Slavonic and the Celtic languages. 1

^{1.} Vide Dr. Buhler's article entitled Roots of the Dhātupātha in The Indian Antiquary, Vol. xxiii, p. 144.

From Curtius's Greek Etymology we find that 671 of Greek roots have representatives in the other languages of the Indo-European family. The smaller number found in Sanskrit is perhaps due to the earlier migration of the Asiatic Branch from the original habitat of the Indo-Europeans, but it is obvious that both the Greeks and the Indo-Aryans have made very large additions to the stock of words inherited by them from the parent language.

It cannot, therefore, be denied that the old Indo-Aryan which the Aryan immigrants into India developed while they were still in the North-West-the Panjab and Afghanistan-contained a large number of roots and words which did not belong to the Indo-Germanic stock. Muchof the new addition was no doubt borrowed from the non-Aryan languages outside India and it is possible that a portion thereof has been derived from pre-Aryan languages spoken in the North-West. But in whatever manner it has been derived and whatever elements it is composed of, this old Indo-Arvan is undoubtedly the original to which the Vedic dialects, the classical Sanskrit, the Prakrt languages. including the Apabhramsas and the Modern-Aryan vernaculars are traceable. If there is no reason other than the similarity between Dravidian and Indo-Arvan sound-formsand words to suppose that the Dravidians once occupied the North-West of India, then the natural presumption will be that these words have really travelled from the northto the south and have been derived by the Dravidianjanguages of the south from immigrants speaking dialects arising from the old Indo-Arvan.

Professor Sten Konow's opinion that, in the case of the Indo-Aryans, a considerable portion of the new roots and words should have been borrowed from the Dravidas is based

Curtius's Greek Etymology, 5th Edition (Englishe Translation), p. 407.

on the theory that the Dravidas were in occupation of the West and the North-West of India when the Aryans arrived in the country; and this theory again is based on the assumption that Dravidian characteristics have been traced in the Vedic and classical Sanskrit.

As Professor Sten Konow points out, it is impossible to enter into details here and we must content ourselves with examining some typical instance of alleged borrowings from the Dravidian languages. We have an amusing instance in the case of the Vedic karmāra 'a smith' which is alleged by some writers to have been borrowed from the Dravidian Karumā 'a smelter',—a neolithic people unacquainted with the use of metals possessing a word for 'smelter'.

A long list of Sanskrit words-the names of indegenous South Indian products-like wihi (rice, rice plant), śringabera (ginger), mukta (pearl), marica (black pepper), pippali, (long pepper), candana (sandalwood), mayara (peacock), etc., have been instanced by Dravidian scholars as having been adopted by Sanskrit from Dravidian languages with some modifications, but it can be proved in most of these cases that the Dravidian name of the product has travelled South from the North during the Aryan period of Indian History. But it may not always be possible to disprove assertions made solely on the basis of the theory that the Dravidians once occupied the North-West of India, otherwise than by showing the theory to be improbable. It is, therefore, necessary to subject to a critical examination the Dravidian characteristics alleged to have been found in the Indo-Aryan languages, which form the basis of this theory,

36. ŠIVA, ŠIVARATRI.

(a) Siva: —In regard to the typical instance of Siva mentioned by Professor Sten Konow, it is no doubt true that

the deity Rudra is regarded as red or tawny in colour* and that the word Siva is used in the Vedas as an epithet of this deity*. For tāmra, 'coppery' red and arana 'red, ruddy, of the colour of the morning sky', babhra 'deep brown, tawny,' sumangala, 'yellow coloured', very auspicious' are some of his epithets, as also Siva and Sivatara. These last two words, however, do not mean 'red' but 'propitious' and 'highly propitious'; this will be apparent from the other epithets along with which these two words occur, niz., sambhu, sankara, 'causing happiness', mayobhu, mayaskara 'causing pleasure, satisfaction'.

Rudra as depicted in the Taittiriya Sainhitä is a fierce destroying deity, and the hymns addressed to Him are intended to propitiate Him by calling Him and His weapons good, beneficent, propitious. The word Sins occurs seven times in the first Anuvāka of 'Rudram'—a hymn addressed to Rudra.

- (T. S. iv-5) In the Taittiriya Samhitā:-
 - (a) yā ta işus sivatamā sivam babhūva te dhanuḥ sivā saravyā yā tava tayā nö rudra mṛḍaya yā te rudra sivā tanūraghorāpāpakāsinī tayā nas tanuvā santamayā girisantā bhickāsīhi yāmişum girisanta haste bibharşyastave sivām giritra tām kuru mā himsīḥ puruṣam jagat sivena vacasā tvā girisācehā vadāmasi.
- Asau yastāmro aruņa uta babhrus sumangalaḥ. (T. S. iv. 5-8.)
 - Namas somāya ca rudrāya ca namas tāmrāya cāruņāya ca namas sangāya ca pasupataye ca nama ugrāya ca bhīmāya ca

Namas sambhave ca mayobhave ca namas sankarāya ca mayaskarāya ca namas sivāya ca sivatarāya ca. (T. S. iv. 5-8.)

- (b) nisîrya salyanam mukha sivo nas sumana bhava. Here we have
 - (1) ta işuśśivatamā 'Your most beneficient arrow'
 - (2) swam to dhamb! Your beneficent bow '
 - (3) śivā śaravyā tava 'Your auspicious aim'
- (4) te sivă tamu santamă 'Your auspicious form (body), most beneficent '
- (5) isum haste sivim kuru * please render the arrow in Your hand beneficent to us *
- (6) sivena vacasă tvā vadāmasi 'we address You with propitiating words '
- (7) sive nas sumanā bhava * be propitious and well disposed towards us.*

It is with the same object that Rudra himself is called siva, sivatara, sambhu, sankara, mayobhu, mayaskara. Of these siva, sambhu and sankara have now become Rudra's names. It is the merest accident that the Sankrit siva beneficent has the same sound as the Dravidian siva (= civa) red. Have those that assert an etymological connexion between the two words been able to quote a single passage from the Vedas in which Siva the epithet of Rudra means red?

(b) Sivarātri: Another instance can be quoted from the Vedas of a similar propitiation by the epithet siva. The fourteenth night of the dark half of the month (lunar) of Māgha is called sivarātri. At the time of the Kausītakī Brāhmaņa this must have been the winter solstice night, i.e., the night immediately preceding the sun's turning to begin his northward course. For it is stated in the Brāhmaņa (XIX—3).

Sa vai mäghasyämäväsyäyämupavasati udaññavartsyan upeme vasanti präyaniyena atiratrena yakṣyamāṇāh tadenam prathamamāpnuvanti "He (the sun), indeed, rests on the new moon day Māgha, being about to turn towards the north. Thus they rest, who are about to perform the rites of the Prāyaṇīya Atirātra. Thus they reach him for the first time". The Brāhmaṇa here refers to the Gavām Ayana sacrifice which begins with a Prāyṇīya Atirātra; the sacrifice lasts for a year and in the middle of it, the sun reaches the highest point (the Summer Solstice) of his annual course.

Sinardiri thus coincided with the winter solstice at onetime, and was then the longest and probably the coldest night of the year; in high latitudes, the sun would have appeared only for a few hours above the horizon and may not have been visible at all in consequence of mists and fogs. The following passage occurs in the Parisista of the Rgveda."

> prapanno'ham sivām rātrim bhadre pāram asīmahi bhadre pāram asīmahi.

(Mandala X, Amuvāka 10-16)

"I seek the protection of the beneficent night, Oh! Propitious One! may we (safely) reach the other side? Oh! Beneficent One! may we (safely) pass the night?"

The same idea occurs in the Tairtirīya Samhitā ;—
Citrāvaso svasti te pāram asīya ityāha
rātrir vai Citrāvasuh, avyuştyai vā
etasyai purā brāhmaņa abhaisuh.* (T. S. I, 5—7.)

"It is stated 'Hail Citrāvasu! May I reach your other side!' Citrāvasu is night; in former days the Brāhmaņas were afraid that it may not dawn."

Putting these passages together and Sayana's commentary on the last it may be inferred that the propitiatory

1. As per G. Thibaut I.A. Vol. xxiv, p. 87.

 Hemantartau r\u00e4trerd\u00fcrghatvena prabh\u00e4tam na bhavisyatyeveti kad\u00e4cid br\u00e4hman\u00e4 bhit\u00e4h (S\u00e4yana bh\u00e4sya.)

[&]quot;As the nights are long in the hemanta (dewy) season the Brahmanas were at one time afraid that it may not dawn at all."

prayer was addressed to the longest night of the year which got its epithet Siva at the same time perhaps as Rudra got His. The fourteenth night of the dark half of Māgha ceased to be the winter solstice night more than three thousand years ago; at a later period, Rathasaptami—the seventh day of the bright half of the month (lunar) of Māgha was considered to be the first day after winter solstice. Later still the first day of the the solar month of Makara was considered to be the day after the winter solstice; and now the winter solstice coccurs on the 22nd December. But Māgha Bahula Caturdasī still continues to be called Sivarātri, the current traditional explanation being that it is a night sacred to Siva.

(e) The above examination shows that the statement that the use of Siva as an epithet of Rudra must be explained from a Dravidian cing 'red' is merely an assertion. We must now proceed to examine the alleged Dravidian characteristics in Indo-Aryan phonology and inflexional system.

S. 37. ALLEGED DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCE ON SANSKRIT PHONOLOGY.

The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit:—The most important item under the second head 'Phonology' is the evolution of the cerebral sounds on the Sanskrit alphabet, but scholars are not agreed on this point, some of them holding that these sounds might have been developed ab intra by Sanskrit itself, while others hold that the sounds must have been borrowed from Dravidian. Pages 32 to 48 in Bishop Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar contain a detailed discussion on the point from which it will be seen that the names Caldwell, Benefey, Norris and Trumpp appear among those of scholars who held the latter view, while the names Wilson, Buhler and Beames are ranged on the opposite side. The former argued that the cerebral sounds which are a special feature

of the Dravidian languages are of Fartar origin and are not found in any of the Indo-Germanic alphabets west of the river Indus, while they exist side by side with the dentals in all the Indo-Aryan alphabets east of the Indus, and that their presence in Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan dialects must be due to Dravidian influence. The late Mr. John Beames, I.C.S., argued on the other hand that the Indo-Germanic languages possessed only linguals and that these had become partly dentals on Indian soil. He said:

"The sounds of this series as expressed by the Teutonic branch of the family, are among the harsher, though not absolutely the harshest, notes of the series. In expressing -t- and -d- we, the Teutons, touch with our tongues the gum or fleshy part of the palate just above the teeth. The Southern European races form the contact lower down, just where the osseous substance of the teeth issues from the gums, thus producing a softer sound than the Teutons. The Persians and Indians form it low down on the teeth almost at their edge thus producing the softest sound of all. This Indian sound, being the result of impact on the teeth is a true dental. We, Teutons have no dental sounds at all while the Italians have semi-dentals. The Indians have, however, in addition to their true dentals another series. produced by contact at a point, very little if at all higher than the Teutonic contact, so that they possess, so to speak, the highest and lowest notes of the scale, but not the intermediate ones."

The following remarks of Professor Sten Konow extracted from the Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. IV, page 279) contain a very fair presentment of the controversy:—

"It seems to be a general rule that a people which invades a foreign country, to some degree adopted the pronunciation of its new home, partly as a result of the influence of climate, and partly also on account of the

intermixture with the old inhabitants. This has also generally been supposed to have been the case in India. Thus therehas been a long discussion as to whether the Aryans have adopted the cerebral letters from the Dravidas or have developed them independently. Good reasons have been adduced for both suppositions, and the question has not as yet been decided. The Indo-European languages do not seem to have possessed those letters. They had a series of dentals which were not, however, pronounced as pure dentals by putting the tongue between the teeth, but probably as alveolars, the tongue being pressed against the root of the upper teeth. It is a well known fact that these sounds have in India partly become dentals and partly cerebrals. The cerebrals are in most cases derived, irom compound letters where the old dentals were preceded by an -l-. Similar changes also occur in other Indo-European languages, and it is therefore quite possible that the Indo-Aryan cerebrals have been developed quite independently. The cerebral letters, however, form an essential feature of the Dravidian phonology, and it therefore seems probable that Dravidian influence has been at work and at least given strength to a tendency which can, it is true, have taken its origin among the Aryans themselves,"

This seems a more careful and more accurate statement of the question at issue than that contained in S. 21 above in which Professor Rapson does not seem to recognize the possibility of an independent development of the cerebral letters and appears to think that their adoption in Sanskrit can only be explained as the result of an older disturbing element.

38. ALVEOLAR SOUNDS IN DRAVIDIAN

It is well known that the English -t- and -d- are not pure dentals nor cerebrals but alveolar sounds produced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the root of the teeth. It has been surmised that the original Indo-European languages possessed only these alveolar sounds and that these have become partly dentals and partly cerebrals on Indian soil. In the language of the Avesta they have become whole dentals.

This change of alveolars into dentals in some cases and in some languages and into cerebrals in others can be exemplified by what has taken place in the Dravidian languages themselves. Sanskrit has five classes—vargas—of consonants, viz., gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals and labials. Tamil-Malayālam has in addition a sixth varga: gutturals k, n, palatals ϵ , n; cerebrals l, n; dentals l, n; labials p, m; the sixth varga r, p. This sixth class is placed at the end of the alphabet, after the liquids and semi-vowels, but the rules given in Tolkāppiyam for the pronunciation of the Tamil r and p show that their place of articulation is above that of the dentals and below that of the cerebrals. A single intervocal r is pronounced like a harsh r but the sound of the doubled rr is entirely different,

Dr. GUNDERT

In the scheme of transliteration prefixed to Dr. Gundert's Malayāļam dictionary it is stated:—

- "Za (the sixth varga) has three different pronun-
- 1. m doubled (ma) is marked tta (resembling t t in utter).
- ra combined with n (nra) is marked nda (resembling nd in binder).
 - 3. Initial and medial r is marked r."

In a foot-note it is added or has semi-dental, or dentogingival pronunciation. Dr. Gundert thus identified the sounds of rr and n r with those of the English alveolar t and tt and nd.

BISHOP CALDWELL.

In Tamil, their pronunciation now is somewhat different. Bishop Caldwell says in his Grammar (page 20):—

"r when doubled is pronounced the though written rr. The t of this compound differs both from the soft dental t of the fourth warga and from the cerebral t, and corresponds very nearly to the camphatic final t of our English interrogative what. This sound of t is not expressed in writing, but in pronunciation it is never omitted; and it is one of those peculiar Dravidian sounds which are not derived from Sanskrit and are not found in it.

Again, in another place, "The hard rough r of the Dravidian languages is not found in Sanskrit and is not employed in pronouncing Sanskrit derivatives. It is found in Telugu poetry and elegant prose, and the grammarians insist upon using it; but in the modern dialect of the Telugu it is seldom used. In Kanarese the use of this letter is confined to the poets and the ancient dialect. It is evident that it was originally contained in all the dialects; though, possibly through the influence of the Sanskrit, it is now seldom used except in Tamil and Malayalam in which it holds as firm footing as ever " (page 29).

"The letter p (not the dental n but the final n of Tamil), a letter which is not found in Telugu, is often prefixed in Tamil to the rough r for the sake of cuphony, when the compound p_T acquires the sound of ndr...... In another class of words the n which prefixed to r is radical, and should be followed by d according to rule (n, p), in the preterites of verbs whose root ends in n); but r is suffixed to n instead of d in consequence of which the sound of ndr is substituted for that of nd" (page 30).

He considered the r radical and n euphonically prefixed in the words muyen 'three' (Kanarese muru) and open 'one' (for oru); but radical and r euphonically substituted for d in the words;— even (endru) 'having spoken' instead of endu and even (cendru) 'having gone' for cendu (which is used instead of the less euphonic celdu) (page 30).

He does not distinguish the final -g of Tamil by any discritical remark and it is clear that he did not recognise that its place of articulation was alveolar, higher than that of the dental n.

MR. C. P. VENKATARAMA AIYAR.

In a paper read at the First Oriental Conference at Poons (1919) Mr. C. P. Venkstarama Aiyar, M.A., (now Headmaster, Training School, Tanjore), discusses the exact pronunciation and place of articulation of the hard Dravidian r and after a detailed examination of the available facts bearing on the question arrives at the conclusion "that the hard r is an alveolar plosive and that the hard r and its corresponding nasal with which the enumeration of the Tamil consonantal system ends, are characteristics Dravidian consonants which are still preserved in Tamil."

INCONSISTENT VIEWS OF DRAVIDIAN SCHOLARS.

Every one can easily satisfy himself by making the attempt that it requires an effort to pronounce a purely dental n except when in combination with a dental consonant t or d as in Sanskrit anta 'end,' manda 'slow.' In all other cases generally the n which is formed without any effort is the alveolar n: e.g.

English : now, when, then, in.

Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Volume I, Summaries of Papers, pages lxxxi to lxxxiv.

Sanskrit: ananta 'endless,' naga 'a snake,' bhavan 'your bonour,' gacchan 'going.'

Tamil : tig ' eat', og ' say'.

When the preterites of the roots his and an are formed, by suffixing da, the combinations tindu, endu require a change of articulation in pronouncing the conjunct -nd- and this is avoided by converting the dental d into an alveolar mute, when the combination will come to have the same sound as in the English and, binder, sand. We may regard the character of this alveolar mute as the Tamil-Malayalam r. This is in effect what Dr. Gundert says, but the pronunciation of r and re being somewhat different in Tamil, Bishap Caldwell did not recognize their true nature.

Most of what we know of the phonology of the old Dravidian languages is derived from Tamil-Malavalam. Kanarese and Teluru; of these Tamil is considered to have developed in full the most charactersistic of Dravidian features. If Indo-Germanic languages originally possessed only alveolars and if these sounds became cerebrals in many cases on Indian soil through Dravidian influence. how came the most important of the Dravidian languages. to possess these alveolar sounds long after Sanskrit had converted its alveolars into dentals and cerebrals, and how comes it that Tamil-the most typical of the Dravidian languages-still possesses them? Bishop Caldwell and Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar comider them to be characteristic Dravidian consonants not found in Sanskrit, and Bishop Caldwell goes to the length of saying that their disappearance in modern Kanarese and Telugu is probably due to the influence of Sanskrit. We thus have two sets of Dravidian scholars, one set ascribing the cerebralization of Sanskrit alveolars to Dravidian influence, the other set ascribing the disappearance of Dravidian alveolars to Sanskrit

influence It is obvious that there is considerable misapprehension in the matter and the question requires detailed examination.

- CERBBRALIZATION OF LIQUID-DENTAL IN SANSKRIT AND OF SIMILAR COMBINATIONS IN DRAVIDIAN.
- (a) The rule of Fortunatov (Uhlenbeck, Sanskrit Phonetics S. 44).

As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow (S. 37 above)

"cerebrals are in most cases derived from compound letters
where the old dentals were preceded by I." This has been
established by Fortunatov, who after a detailed examination
arrived at the following results:—"Idg. r dental remained
unchanged but in combination of I and a following dental
the I disappeared and the dental was lingualized." Thus
in Sanskrit:—

pata-s ' woven stuff, cloth, garment ' (cf. O. Slav. platino, Russ. polotno ' linen ',

patala-m 'cover, veil, mass' (Ice. feldr. 'cover'),
patu-s 'sharp' (Gr. πλατας 'saltish brack').

vata-s (vata-m, vati) 'snare' (Lith. valtis 'thread, net,'
Russ. voloti' thread ').

hātaka-m 'gold' (O. Slav. zlato. Russ. zoloto).

huthara 'axe' (Lat, culter).

pani-s 'hand' (Lat. palma).

pana-s 'wager, stake, prize, wages, a coin' (Lith. pelnas. 'wages').

bhasate 'speaks' bhashati 'barks' (Lith. balsas 'voice tone').

pasane-s Vedic pasya stone (O. H. G. (felis).

The combinations lt, lth, ls, ls &c., are now rare in Sanskrit all such having been converted into the corresponding cerebrals as shown above or into rt, rth, rn, rs,

etc., by the change of ldg. *l* into *r*. These latter combinations have also been cerebralized in a few instances, the original and the modified words now existing side by side in Sanskrit:—

bhata 'soldier' bhrta-s' hired' (Gr. φερω)
kafa-s 'mat' kartana-m' weaving' (Gr. κύρτος)
kafu-s' sharp' *kartu-s (Lith. kartus).
nafa-s' dancer' nartaka-s' dancer'.

Some Indo-Germanie philologists appear to be of opinion that cerebralizations of the latter kind are due to external Präkric influences, while the cerebralizations of the combinations I and dental, have developed ab intra owing to the operation of causes within the Indo-Germanic languages themselves. Other scholars prefer to believe that all those cerebrals which go back on a combination of a liquid (r or I) dental are due to Präkrtic influence. There appears also to be a third school of philologists who appear to be of opinion that there was a cerebralizing tendency in the Indo-Germanic languages themselves and that the Präkrt influence referred to above has merely strengthened this tendency.

In the Präkrt languages the combinations tt, tth, td, tdh, have, as a rule, and subject to exceptione, been converted into tt, tth, dd and ddh. Examples of this change and of the exceptions to the rule will be found collected in P.P.G. Ss. 289-291. Another set of combinations which were occasionally cerebralized were tr dr (vide Ss. 292-4 Ibid).

(b) The Dravidian treatment of the combinations lt, rt, nt in verb-forms.

Dravidian scholars take up the question at this stage and assert that the Dravidian languages were being spoken in the North and the North-west of India when the Aryans entered the country and that the Präkrt influence referred to above is merely the influence of Dravidian languages. This assertion can be shown to be untrue in the case at least of Tamil (including Malayalam) and Kanarese. There are a number of verbal bases in Tamil ending in -l, -p and in some of the verbal forms of these bases the final consonants -l and -p come in intimate contact with the initial t- of the suffixes. This intimate contact sometimes converts both the consonants into alveolars but never into cerebrals. When the base ends in -r no change takes place in the initial t- or the final -r.

Baso,		Verbal noun with suffix-tal.	Conjunctive participles with suffix-tu.
vil	'sell'	nigral	nirru
kal	*Jearn *	karral	karru
hol	* kill *	kolial or köral	kongu
cet.	* go *	celtal or ceral	centu
tig	'eat'	tipral	tiggu
pär	see *	partial	pärttu
tle	'settle'	tiettal	tirttu

In Kanarese such verbal forms do not contain even alveolars and the initial dentals of suffixes do not undergo any change. Thus:—

```
mil * stand * has the conjunctive participle miltu, mindu;
kal 'learn '
                                                kaltu:
n#4 spin 4
                                                multu:
Aur ! love !
                                                kurtu:
                                         **
kulir 'bend, stoop '
                                                kulitu:
                          **
                                         22
wir small '
                                                matic ;
an 'lean, recline '
                                                etitler :
kun 'bend, stoop '
                                                kuntu.
                          53.
                                         23
```

In Teluguthere do not appear to be standard grammatical forms in which the initial t- of the suffixes comes in intimate contact with -i- or -r- of the bases; but in the case of the roots ann 'say', keen 'soc or bring forth,' keen 'buy, take,' aims 'hear,' time 'eat,' -s- comes in intimate contact with the initial i- of the present participle suffix -tm and the past tenre ruffix -ti, and the resulting combination -at- is corebra-lized into -nf- as in antum 'saying,' kentum 'buying,' antique 'I say', kentum 'I buy' etc.

(c) The Dravidian treatment of the combinations -B-, -n-, -n- in nominal deciention.

In Telago the initial is of the oblitpe case suffix sticomes into intimate contact with the limit of or or of the nouns declined and then the combinations of and oriare replaced by a single cerebral of except in a few cases where of appears in the place of the combination. Caldwell's grammar enumerates about 50 words as belonging to this class. In some cases, where the nouns contain off or onethe combinations of the combination of the combinations.

Nount.	Oblique form.
ndru the mouth?	no-ti
ēra ' a river '	2-41
malur ' the forehead '	mufu-fi
engili ' the palate or throat "	angi-fi
guppili " the fist "	guppi-ti
kundélu ' a hure '	Aundé-fi
nogali * a plough *	nüga-tt
rôkali ' a large peatle '	rokafi
ithe 'a bouse'	inti
pullu " a tooth "	pasti
villa " a bow "	right
kems 'the eye'	kanti

In pronominal declention carebrals appear in the oblique phural forms soft, stfi of the pronouns of the third and, in; these oblique forms correspond to the oblique forms awarru, iwarru of Tamil and to the Kanarese declensional form containing the augment -ar- (K. K. G. Ss. 124, 125, 136). In non-pronominal declension there is an oblique case suffix in Tamil and Kanarese beginning with a dental, but it remains a dental as in Tamil: marattu, Kanarese: marada 'pertaining or belonging to a tree' and undergoes no change of class. Thus, as in the case of verb forms, only alveolars or dentals appear in nominal declension in Tamil and Kanarese and no cerebrals.

(d) No tendency in Tamil and Kanarese to cerebralize.

The illustrations given in (b) and (c) above bring out a marked difference in the phonetic peculiarities of Tamil and Kanarese on the one hand and Telugu on the other. The combinations -lt-, -rt-, -nt- occurring in grammatical forms are cerebralized in Telugu while they are converted into alveolars in literary Tamil and remain unchanged in Kanarese. There is thus no tendency in Tamil or Kanarese to cerebralize the combinations It, rt, at occurring in inflexions; such a tendency does exist in Telugu, but only in regard to these combinations. It will be seen from the examplesgiven in (a) above that -ls- became -s- and -ln- became -n- in the pro-Sanskrit period; and no doubt through the continued operation of causes producing these changes, ldg. -rs- and -rn- have become -rs- and -rn- in Sanskrit; as in dharsami 'I dare,' vary 'rain,' karna 'the ear,' varna 'colour' (Uhlenbeek S. 44). This change cannot possibly be attributed to Telugufor in tadbhava words as opposed to tatsama words Telugu avoids 5 and n; thus, Sanskrit: harsa 1 joy, karsana 1 cultivation ' śirsa ' head,' parusa ' harsh,' bhāsā ' language.' Prākrt: vanna (varna) ' colour, sound, letter ' exist as arasa, karisanamugēsa, parusa, būsa, vanus in accau (pure) Telugu.

In these circumstances it is difficult to assent to the view put forth by some Dravidian scholars that the Präkṛt influence, referred to by the Indo-Germanic philologists, which cerebralized dentals in Sanskrit was exercised by the Dravidian languages.

40.—(a) ALVEOLAR PRONUNCIATION IN DRAVIDIAN OF THE FINAL DENTALS OF SANSKRIT DERIVATIVES.

In Malayāļam the symbol of besides expressing final -l serves also for the Sanskrit consonants -t and -d which in that language are pronounced l, e.g., ut, tat, mat etc., adbhuta 'wonderful,' utsāha 'energy,' tātparyam 'real meaning,' canatkāram 'eleverness,' and in the 5th case singular of nouns tusmāt, Rāmāt etc., in all of which the final consonants -t, -d of words or syllables are pronounced as -l which has about the same place of articulation as the alveolar -l.

In Tamil, the Sanskrit words (1) adbhuta 'wonder-ful,' (2) Padmanābha 'a proper name,' (3) tatkāla 'that time,' (4) mudga 'a kind of pulse,' etc. in which class, (5) patanga 'a bird 'may perhaps be also included, are converted into (1) ar pudam, (2) Par panāpan, (3) tarkālam, (4) mugkam and (5) paravai.

The final -p of Tamil words denoting masculine singular is derived from Sanskrit -nt as is pointed out below. Later on it is shown that Tamil replaces the final consonants -t and -d of Sanskrit tadbhavas by -l and -n.

(6) ALVEOLARS AND CEREBRALS FROM THE INDO-ARYAN CONJUNCT -6-.

Another surprise is in store for us when we proceed to examine in what classes of words these alveolar sounds are found in literary Tamil. The Sanskrit word Suna 'a thead, a string, a coil' gives rise to the Sanskrit denominative root siltra1, 'coil round' from which the Tamil engu 'envelope, coil round' is derived. The Sanskrit root mā 'measure' gives rise to the word mātrā 'a measure, a little quantity, a small measure '; it is from this mātrā that the Tamil word mātru in popmātru' fineness of alloyed gold' (measure of pure gold) appears to have been derived.

The above instances in which the double -ff- arises from the Sanskrit -tr- furnish the reason why the Tamil pronunciation of -ff- resembles, as pointed out by Bishop Caldwell, that of -ttr-. But in some cases the alveolar -ff-derived from -tr- has been replaced by the cerebral -ff-. Thus mātrā and mātram exist also in the form matta as in matta vilai 'low price,' accu mattam 'an Acin (pony) of small stature,' matta-p-palakai 'carpenter's square 'atu mattum 'that only (and nothing more).' The Sanskrit chātra 'a pupil, a student 'has come cattan in Tamil.

A number of Sanskrit words will be given later on below in which -tr- is replaced by -zz- or -z- in Tamil.

(c) ALVEOLARS AND CEREBRALS FROM THE INDO-ARYAN CONJUNCT -ri-.

Another Sanskrit conjunct which becomes -rr- in Tamil is -rt-. Thus the Sanskrit vrtha 'in vain, useless', vārttā 'unsubstantial,' varttam 'chaff' appear to be connected etymologically with the Tamil verru, veru 'empty,' varumai 'poverty.' The Sanskrit vārttā, 'a word, speech,' which has become vātta in Prākrt and exists as bat in Hindi and as vai in Guzerati, Panjabi, Maharāstrī etc., appears as mārram in literary Tamil.

A number of Sanskrit words will be given later on where the combination -n- is replaced by -rr- or -r- in Tamil.

Sūtra cestane. The root sūtra is used in the sense of surrounding, twisting, coiling round. Dhātupātha, 1908.

In most cases however, the Sanskrit -n- is represented by -u- in Tamil and other Dravidian languages.

For instance :-

arthavarna 'a synopsis'; attavanai;
tirtha 'a fording place'; tiffu;
nandydvarta 'a flower plant'; nantydvartai;
pratima 'a picture, statue'; pafimam;
vortta 'round'; vattam, vaffu;
älavarta 'a fan made of cloth'; alavattam etc.
These have probably been adopted from the Präkrts.

(d) TAMIL -r-, -rr- AND -R- ARE IMITATIONS OF THE PRO-SANSERIT DENTAL SOUNDS.

There seems to be now no doubt that the Tamil -r-had originally the sound of an alveolar plosive and if Sanskrit dentals were originally sounded as alveolars then the Tamil _r- substituted for the Sanskrit letters in the examples given in (a) above truly represent the pro-Sanskrit sounds of -t-and -d-; -t- and -n- which are also substituted in certain connections have nearly the same place of articulation as the pro-Sanskrit -t- and -d-.

The combination -tr- became cerebralized in Prākṛt only in a few instances; in the vast majority of cases -r-was assimilated with -t- and the combination was replaced by -tt- or -tth-; the combinations -rt-etc., were no doubt cerebralized in a very large number of ins ances in Prākṛt but -r- also became assimilated to -t- and the combination replaced by -tt- in a considerable number of cases. (P.P. P. G. Ss. 281-294). In these cases of assimilation -rr- of Tamil will truly convey the pro-Sanskrit sound of -tt-, But -rr- must have been substituted for -tr- and -rt-, at least for -tr- even in cases where there was no assimilation and this is apparently the reason why a liquid -r- intrudes itself in

the Tamil pronunciation of -tr- which is sounded as -tr- and not like a pure alveolar as in Malayalam. The list which will be given later on will leave little room for doubt that there is now in literary Tamil a considerable number of words containing -tr- or -r- which are merely adaptations of Sanskrit words containing -tr- or -rt-. The conjunct -tr- which was originally substituted for -tr- and -rt- has since lost one -r- in some of the words in the list.

It is thus clear that the alveolars -r-, -rz--a- which are supposed to be peculiar to Tamil occur very frequently in Tamil adaptations of Sanskrit words in the place of -t-, -tt-, -tt-, -st-, and this circumstance goes to confirm the view held by some philologists that the Idg. dentals were pronounced like alveolars.

(e) CHANGE OF ALVEOLARS INTO DENTAL AND CEREBRALS IN DRAVIDIAN.

As is now generally admitted, the alveolars -rr- and -yr- existed also formerly in other cultivated Dravidian languages. But in colloquial and vulgar Tamil -rr- and -yr- become respectively -tr- and yy; Sometimes -yr- is also pronounced and written -nt-. In Telugu they generally become -f- or -ff- and -nf- or -yd- respectively; in Kanarese-rr- becomes -tt- or -ff- and nr becomes nd, so that it is only in literary Tamil that the alveolar sounds are preserved. The subjoined table illustrate the changes.

Literary Tamil.	Colloquial and vulgar Tamil.	Kanarese.	Telugu.
coil round '	suttu	suttu	euļțu
purgu 'ant hill'	puttu	huttu }	puțța
marram 'a word'		matu	mata

SEC. 40] ALVEOLAR PRONUNCIATION IN DRAVIDIAN

Literary Tamil.	Colloquial and	Kanarese,	Telugu.
	vulgar Tamil.		
perru 'empty,	vēt/u	bari	vetti
profitless."			utta
urru' a spring of water	üttu	üţe	nja
enren 'I suid'	енци	endenu	an/ini
Marchael Comment	having said		
tingen ' I ate '	tippu	tindenu	tintini
NOTE OF THE PARTY	having eate	n '	
engu 'sunshine '			enda
adgru' a day"			nādu
kungu 'a hill'	kuppu		konda
ours' one'	onnu	ondu	ondu
avarritirundu	500	avarin	vätinuä-
' from then '		(Old Kanare	
ivarril ' in these '		ivaralli	vițilă.
		(Old Kanare	
		A RESIDENCE TO LANCE OF THE PARTY.	

To sum up:

- (i) Scholars tell us that the original Indo-Germanic language possessed no true dentals but only alweolars; this view receives remarkable confirmation from the circumstance that in the Old Tamil adaptations of a class of Sanskrit words, Tamil alweolars -r-, -rr- and -pr- take the place of the Sanskrit dentals,
- (i) Scholars also tell us that these alveolars have become dentals in some cases and cerebrals in others in Sanskrit. Old specimens that have come down to us of Tamil, Kanarese and Telugo contain alveolars side by side with dentals and cerebrals; the alveolars have now become dentals in some cases and cerebrals in others. In this change the Dravidian languages resemble the Indo-Germanic and Sanskrit. This change is certainly not due, as supposed by Bishop Caldwell, to the influence of Sanskrit.

(iii) The view of a number of Dravidian scholars that the external influence which cerebralized the pro-Sanskrit combinations of a liquid (r or l) dental was exercised by the Dravidian languages is altogether improbable. In Old Tamil the combinations -lt- and -nt- are converted into alveolars, not cerebrals; the combination -rt- undergoes no change. None of these combinations undergo any change in Kanarese. They do become cerebralized in Telugu but this may be due to the fact that that language being nearest to the idioms of the North has been more under the Präkṛt influence which cerebralized the Sanskrit liquid dental. Telugu does not tolerate the cerebrals s and n.

The known facts of the case are best explained on the supposition that there emigrated into South India a body of Indo-Aryans in the pro-Sanskrit period when the Sanskrit dental letters still retained the Indo-Germanic alveolar sounds. These sounds thus brought to the South persisted longer here than in the North, where they were soon lost under what the Indo-Germanic philologists describe as Prākṛt influence. We know there has been a continuous stream of immigration from the Prākṛtic North to the South throughout the historic period and the alveolar sounds of the South have also disappeared, but more slowly, from the spoken languages through the same Prākṛt influence. We see here, not Dravidian influence on Sanskrit, but some influence acting on Dravidian and Sanskrit alike.

The theory that the cerebral letters of Sanskrit are due to the influence of Dravidian languages as known to us must be definitely rejected.

41. CHANGES IN THE INFLEXIONAL SYSTEM OF SANSKRIT.

Materials and Method.

In regard to the inflexional system some writers attribute to the influence of the Dravidian dialects every change that has taken place on Indian soil in the grammar of Aryan languages. The most comprehensive statement to this effect is probably contained in 'The Age of the Mantras' already quoted from, in the last chapter. At page 6 of this book it is stated:—'In the course of its growth in India, on account of the constant influence of the Dravidian tongues, this (Vedie) language lost the subjunctive mood, many infinitive forms and several noun declensions, forgot its richly varied system of real tenses and adopted turns of expression peculiar to the Dravidian idiom. Compare:

Sanskrit krtavan, Tamil ceytavay ;

Sanskrit iti est after an assert on to indicate a condition,

Telugu aute;

Sanskrit kiāca ;

Telugu maziyunnu ;

Sanskrit tasya kyte dattam instead of tarmai dattam ;

Telugu vani koraku iccinadi "1,

In considering whether, and if so, to what extent, Dravidian influences have affected Aryan inflexion, we must broadly distinguish between borrowing of materials and mere imitation of method. If it is shown that Indo-Aryan has borrowed any suffixes, auxiliaries or particles from the Dravidian, then we have tangible evidence of Dravidian influence, Where, however, the evidence consists of similarity of methods, no definite conclusion can be drawn. For, the Vedic language which was originally highly inflexional had been undergoing a process of disintegration for over three thousand years till there is nothing left of it now as a spoken language except the neo-Aryan vernaculars of northern India and the Dekhan which are not synthetic but analytical. Parallel instances are the

In the work referred to the words are not given with proper transliteration.

evolution of the highly analytical modern English from the inflexional Anglo-Saxon and that of New Persian from Old Persian through Pahlavi. When a language I we its inflexional character, it must express grammatical cases by separate particles prefixed or post-fixed to nouns, must form sentences by means of auxiliaries affixed to uninflected participles and must change the order of words in the sentence so as to avoid the ambiguity which the loss of inflexions would produce if the old order were still retained. These and other changes of a similar nature may be wholly illusory and misleading as evidence of imitation of method, and cannot obviously be relied upon. The point may be amply illustrated by taking the first verse in the Sankşepa Rāmāyana:—

"Tapasvädhyäyaniratam" tapasvi" vägvidäm" varam : Näradam" paripapraccha" Välmikir" munipungavam"."

*Constantly engaged³ in tapas and svadhyaya, practising² tapas, the best of those³ skilled in speech, Narada⁴ asked⁵ Valmiki⁴ the best⁵ of munis.⁵

In the English rendering one cannot say which is the subject, which the object, which of the adjuncts qualify the subject and which the object. But in the Sanskrit original No. 6 is in the nominative case as also its adjunct No. 2, while No. 4 and its adjuncts 1, 3 and 7 are in the accessative case and the sense is easily made out. In uninflected analytical languages we must therefore enter into some convention in regard to the position of the subject and of the object, and of the adjuncts with reference to the nouns they qualify, and must strictly adhere to the convention. The off-repeated oracular statement "The Greeks the Romans shall conquer" is wholly ambiguous for want of a convention of this sort.

Granting that some such conventions are necessary, it has been argued that the conventions adopted by the Indo-Aryan vernaculars appear to be imitated from Dravidian. A few points which have been prominently mentioned under this head may be considered here:—

"With regard to the inflexion of nouns we may mention the use of postpositions as case-suffixes, the postpositions being usually the same in the singular and the phural. This peculiarity, the Indo-Aryan vernaculars share with Dravidian, but also with the other non-Aryan languages of India, and it would not therefore be safe to base any conclusion upon this fact. Still it is remarkable that the postpositions are often added not to the base but to an oblique form, just as is the case in Dravidian, where the oblique form is commonly used as a genitive. The use of a separate oblique form is, moreover, most extensive in languages such as Marathi and Bihari, where the Dravidian influence must presumably have been strongest. Note also that the genitive is, in both families, an adjective "1.

"The order of words in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, with the governed before the governing word and the verb invariably at the end of the sentence, is also in agreement with Dravidian principles. It is, however, here also possible to think of an influence exercised by other non-Aryan languager, and I only mention the fact that both families agree also in this respect." *

The use of separate words as case-suffixes is of the very essence of an analytical language. The use of different suffixes for the different numbers which are already expressed by the number signs attached to the nouns is a needless complexity rightly dispensed with by Aryan vernaculars as

^{1.} Linguistic Survey of India, p. 280.

^{2.} Linguistic Survey of India, p. 281.

by other analytical languages. In these two respects modern English about six thousand miles away follows the same methods which the Indo-Aryan vernaculars follow. But it may be asked why these vernaculars have postpositions instead of prepositions. In this respect they follow the Vedic idioms in which case-signs are post-fixed to nouns. The placing of the governed word before the governing word and of the verb at the end of the sentence is a necessary consequence of using post-positions instead of prepositions. The case-suffix is related not only to the noun to which it is attached, but also to the verb-form governing the noun. Example:—

	1	2
Tamil;	Rāmaņ-ai	kēţţān
Translation:	Rāma of	enquired he.
	He enquired of Rama.	

The case-prefixes are called appropriate prepositions in English in their relation to the verbs and come between the verb and the noun it governs. In Sanskrit they are called *pasarga* and are prefixed to the verb; in this language also they come between the verb and the governed word.

	1	2	3
Tamil:	pacu-v-ai	curri	varukirān
	1	2	3
Sanskrit:	gām	pari	kramati
(literal	cow	round	comes he
translation)			
English:	he	comes ro	und (the) sow.

Thus it is seen that a mere change from post-positions to prepositions produces the entire reversal of the order of words in sentence. The post-positions are added not to the base but to an oblique form even in the case of English pronouns which have a base, an oblique form and a genitive case as:—

Nominal	Oblique	Possessive.	
1	me	my	
thou	thee	thy	
he	him	his	
she	her	her	
they	them	their.	

In the case of all these pronouns the case-signs are attached to an oblique from and the genitive is an adjective.

It may be argued that the change from the inflexional to the analytical type was itself due to Dravidian influence. How is this established? Is there any evidence that any of the Dravidian languages were spoken in anything like their present form in the Brahmana or the Sütra period? We have no specimens of these languages which can be ascribed to a period earlier than the end of the 1st century A.D. and the grammatical changes that have taken place since clearly indicate that the languages must then have been in a state of flux.

In the case of Anglo-Saxon and Old Persian the influence appears to have come ab intra; and the facts adduced below would seem to show that in the case of the Vedic language also the changes arose probably ab intra and are not necessarily the result of imitation of Dravidian methods. There are certain points in which all applutinative and all analytical languages must necessarily agree, and no valid inference can be drawn in regard to their origin or influence from such points of agreement.

These discussions become of minor importance in view of the main argument in this book—that in its essential characteristics, what is called Dravidian is made up of elements to be found in Old Indo-Aryan and is merely a phase of Indo-Aryan

42. PRO-ETHNIC DRAVIDIAN VERB.

a. It is also desirable at the outset to settle what was the pro-ethnic form of the Dravidian finite verb. Modern Malayalam uses as finite verbs indeclinable verbal forms which are the same for all persons, numbers and genders, and have no personal endings. Thus padi-k-kunnu, padi-t-tu, padi-k-kum from the verbal base padi "read" are used as finite verbs in the present, the past and the future tenses respectively in all persons numbers and genders. In Old Kanarese, verbal forms produced by affixing -ku, -gu, -kum, -gum to the base were common to all numbers and genders of the third person. In Old Tamil, finite verbs of the form ceyrum, natakhum, varum etc., from the bases cey, 'do' nata 'walk' wi 'come' etc., were common to all the three singulars and the neuter plural of the third person. There were also other verbal forms in Old Tamil in which the personal terminations were of the most rudimentary kind; this is often the case even now in some Tamil dialects like Burgandi. In Telugu verbal forms like the past kottedu, kotte; the aorist kettunu; the futures kettedunu, kettendeni, ketteni, kettini; from the verbal base kottu 'strike' are common to the three singulars and the neuter plural of the third person, and the analogy of Kanarese and Malayalam suggests the inference that some of these forms were probably used in other numbers and persons also in former times. In a specimen of the Beradi dialect of Telugu given in the Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. IV, p. 604), the following past tense forms are used in the singular without any personal endings :-

adigiti 'he asked', agati 'l became' osti 'I came', agati 'you became.'

Can we infer from all these that the Dravidian verb was originally uninflected, that is to say, had no personal endings?

b. Bishop Caldwell says "When the Dravidian, entered India the verb must, I think, have been without personal terminations and therefore without gender", (C.D.G. Introduction, page 75). In another place he says "It would appear, therefore, that the Dravidian verb was originally uninflected; and this may partly account for the circumstance that Malayalam so readily lost the inflexions which, in common with Tamil, it had acquired. The period when the Dravidian verb was uninflected must have been long prior to the separation of the parent tongue into dialects, in all which, even in the rudest, a system of inflexions has been developed" (C. D. G. page, 377).

The Editors of the L'oguistic Survey say: - " the pronominal suffixes are not necessary for the conjugation of the Dravidian verbs, and they are very often dropped in common speech. In Malayalam they are n ver used, but the tenses are replaced by participles without any distinction of person and number. Such participles are also in other dialects used as conjunctive participles. In Gondi we occasionally also find them employed in the same way as in Malayalam. In High Tamil we find a similar state of affairs. Such participles probably represent the oldest stage of the development of the Dravidian verb and they have long been recognized as the bases of the so-called tenses f.e., the compound nouns or nouns of agency used as such (L.S. Vol. IV-page 295)." Following these authorities it has been assumed throught the following pages that the Dravidians were originally using as finite verbs indeclinable verbal forms which have since come to be called participles and verbal nouns.

c. A parallel instance outside India is furnished by the evolution of the past tense in New Persian. "The third person singular of the past tense is the perfect participle ending in -t or -d alone. The other persons of the tense are formed by attaching to this participle the persons of the auxiliary ah be". Thus from kuy killed are formed the tense forms:—

> Sing. kust-am kust-i kust Plur. kust-im kust-id kust-and.

The past tense as thus formed is a creation of the New Persian. In Pahlavi the participle alone served to express all persons. Example:

kart I did, thou didst, he did and so on"1.

"In the pre-classical period the past tense of transitive verbs was not constructed as shown above; but a passive construction was employed (after the example of Old Persian, the Peh'avi, as also the Sanskrit and the Hindi) the agent of the act was put in the oblique case (originally the genitive) the object of the action became the subject and the shorter form of the two participles was employed in the passive." 2.

It may be remarked in passing that even the oldest Dravidian specimens available, do not furnish any instance of such passive constructions or use of the oblique case for the agent. It would seem, therefore, that, so far as we can judge from the available materials, the Dravidian past tense has been evolved from the conjunctive participle, not from the past participle passive.

J.T. Platts's Grammar of the Persian Language (Vol. I, pages, 173-174, S. 96).

J.T. Platts's Grammar of the Persian Language (Vol. I, page 175, S. 96).

d. We see from the above history of the New Persian past tense how the third person singular in a tense paradigm often comes to be left without any personal ending. Certain indeclinable forms like the Pehlavi kart or the English did are originally common to all persons and numbers; gradually the first and the second person singular and plural and the third person plural come to be differentiated by suitable personal endings, thus leaving the original form exclusively for the third person singular. In Dravidian which appears originally not to have recognised neuter plural the form for the third person singular was, as it is even now in some cases, used also for this plural.

We may also note here in anticipation that of the nonpronominalised Telugu forms in (a) above kette and kettens are corruptions of forms which have given rise to two of the four Telugu past tense paradigms; while kettiti perhaps the latest of Telugu past forms—has been unable to retain its place in the third person. The forms kettum, kettedum, kettedim have been superseded by kettuta and ketteda in other persons and numbers.

43. THE INCREASING USE OF PARTICIPLES IN LATER KANSKRIT.

We are now in a position to examine the various items in which Aryan dialects are said to have imitated Dravidian methods on Indian soil. The Editors of the Linguistic Survey say (L. S. IV, p. 280-281):—

pean verb we are at once struck by a considerable difference. The Indo-European languages have developed a richly varied system of real verbal tenses, while the Dravidians do not use ordinary tenses but employ forms which can best be described as participles or nouns of agency derived. from such participles. The Dravidian verb in this respect also differs from the Tibeto-Burman one, which can most properly be described as a verbal noun.

The Dravidian participles are commonly used without any addition, as conjunctive participles in subordinate sentences. In other cases they are used in the same way in some dialects, but usually prononominal suffixes are added in order to indicate the person of the subject. The same is, to a great extent, the case with ordinary nouns of agency, when they are used as verbs.

It is easy to see how a corresponding tendency has gradually pervaded the Indo-Aryan language and changed their whole appearance.

In the Vedas we still find the Indo-European principle of using a varied system of verbal tenses. But already in the old Epics all this has changed. According to Professor Whitney, the number of verbal forms in the Nalacarita and the Bhagavadgitā is only one-tenth of that found in the Rg-Veda. In classical Sanskrit almost every verbal tense was replaced by a participle, and in the modern vernaculars there are only traces of the old tenses, and new ones have been formed from the old participles, just as in the case with the Dravidian forms of speech. The use of pursonal terminations in many Indo-Aryan vernaculars and the substitution of the nominative for the agent in some of them point in the same direction.

Side by side with this development we find that the conjunctive participle is used more and more in secondary sentences, another point of analogy with the Dravidian languages. In the Epics this form is used thrice as often as in the Vedas and in later literature its use is steadily increasing."

Every particular in the above enumeration, especially the replacement of tenses by indeclinable verbal forms is a step in the transition from the synthetic to the analytic stage and these steps may have been taken in the natural course of evolution without being suggested by Dravidian forms. What Dravidian or Turanian example did English followed when it discarded almost all inflexions and came to tolerate such a sentence as " I got up early in the morning, had a bath before taking coffee, got on horseback and rode twenty miles." The verbal forms get up, had, got and rode have no endings to indicate person, number or gender and are exactly the same as the Malayalam forms elungu, snonam, ceydu, kudara ēri, savāri ceydu. In Telugu, the forms will be lēci, mān mu cēśi, guramu yekki, savāri cēśinānu the last only having a personal ending. Again there is absolutely noinflexion in the forms of the tense. "I, you, he, she, it, we, you, they had done." English has succeeded in doing what they did only on a very limited scale in classical Sanskrit. This use of uninflected participles is a revolt of the progressive human mind against the tyranny of unnecessary and bewildering inflexions. English which has thrown off this tyranny is easy to learn and to speak and has acquired a power of expression hardly inferior to that of any language ancient or modern. Sanskrit had within itself forms and modes. by the free use of which the Epic writers attempted to throw off the voke of inflexious, but the process did not proceed very far in classical Sanskrit which soon ceased to be a spoken dialect and became stereotyped nearly two thousand years ago. The simplification was, however, continued by the speakers of the Prakrts and the Apabhramsas so thoroughly that the present Arvan vernaculars of India are almost wholly analytical with occasional exceptions.

The substitution of the nominative case for the agent has its analogue in the evolution of the past tense in modern Persian and appears to be another instance of unnecessary detail dispensed with in the course of simplification.

Let us look at the reverse side af the picture. If the Dravidian finite verb was at first an unchanging participle and had no personal ending, might it not be argued that the Aryan speakers of Dravidian began to attach these endings to the final verb in a sentence in imitation of Sanskrit. In Old Tamil personal endings are also added to verbal forms in subordinate clauses : is it not reasonable to suppose that this was due to the earliest Aryan cultivators of Dravidian-Brahmans, Jains, and Buddhists imitating Old Aryan idioms which preceded classical Sanskrit?

Again taking the Dravidian conjunctive participles and verb forms instanced above elunns, eri, cerdu, leci, sesi, rekki, cesindum, it will be seen from the explanations given above that the aim of this book is to show that the tense signs—num,-i,-du,-ci, si-inu in the above examples are corruptions of Aryan particles. If this is a fact, Dravidian must have borrowed Aryan particles wholesale, and there is no point in saying that Indo-Aryan has imitated Dravidian. If the mots and the tense and mode signs of Dravidian are taken from Indo-Aryan, then Dravidian is not a separate entity.

44. Loss of Many Infinite forms in Sanserit.

The loss of many infinitive forms in Sanskrit has been attributed to Dravidian influence by some writers, but without any justification whatever. The infinitive had a

a. unamdanar kılalê—unamdu kolalê (Tol. II, 19) " it must be understood."

b. paliccin'r kalimin (Pattu. X-360) 'pass (the spot) after offering up a prayer'.

^{6.} ullinir cerir dyin. (Pattu. X-65) 'if you go (there)

variety of forms in the Vedas, but all these were merely cases of verbal nouns; and the ease-form most commonly used as infinitive was the dative though objective infinitives were also frequent; the genitive, ablative and locative infinitives were rare. The dative infinitives like kartaes kr 'do'), knotaes (knu' hear') are not known to later Sanskrit in which only the objective infinitives in -tum like kartum, kratum now survive.

In the Dravidian languages there are two ways of forming infinitives. One form is the dative case of verbal nouns, as Telugu contain, condink, Kanarese genelige, Tamil course, 'for doing'; and this dative form is mentioned in Tolkappiyam which is supposed to be the oldest Tamil work extant; the objective case form is unknown to the Dravidian languages. If Sanskrit has discontinued the dative form and adopted the objective form universally, it cannot certainly be through Dravidian influence.

The other mode of forming infinitives in Dravidian is by adding -a to the root, as, Telugu copa, Kanarese gegat, Tamil copa. The older form of this -a is -an in Telugu which appears to have become -at in Tamil and Kanarese; this suffix -an is probably derived from Praktic forms.

45. Loss of the vedic subjunctive mood:

The remark that the Vedic language lost its subjunctive mood through the influence of the Dravidian appears to be equally unjustifiable and shows a misapprehension of the functions of this mood in that language and of the circumstances under which the mood became latterly a superfluity. The Vedic subjunctive had a value similar to that of the optative and its fundamental meaning was one of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, but more so than the optative. In principal sentences the difference in the values of these moods was only one

of degree; in fact when the subjunctive mood goodually fell into desuctude its forms for the first person—as in bhatani, bhatana—were taken over by the imperative which originally had no forms in the Vedas for the first person (W.S.G. SS. 533-a; 574-a 578).

The subjunctive mood was also used in the Vedas in subordinate clauses in such connections as would be expressed in English by the conditional clauses 'if it should be etc.,' 'lest it should be etc.,' in order that it may be etc.'; but here also its functions were shared by the optative which even in the earliest Vedic period had come to be used in dependant clauses with relative pronouns and conjunctions, as a regular means of expressing the conditional and contingent. (W.S.G.S. 576-b). A part of its functions being fulfilled by the imperative and the rest having been taken over by the optative the subjunctive became a superfluity in the language and fell into disuse. It is not easy to see how this disuse can be attributed to the influence of Dravidian.

In the Avestic language also the imperative had originally no forms for the first person; the subjunctive forms of this person were subsequently taken over by the imperative (J. A. V. S 447 note).

46. THE ARYAN INDECLINABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

The present participle was always declined in Vedic and classical Sanskrit and in literary Prākrts so as to agree with the subject in number and gender. But some of the modern Aryan vernaculars use an indeclinable form of the participle, and whenever this is the case the Editors of the Linguistic Survey remark that such usage is due to the example of the adjoining Dravidian languages. On examining the question, however, it is seen that the indeclinable present participle occurs often in the Aśoka inscriptions of the 4th Century B.C.; and the neo-Aryan vernaculars have

doubtless inherited it from the Māgadhī Apabhranīsā. The suffixes of one of the Telugu present participles and possibly also of the Kanarese present participle appear to be derived from the termination of the Asokic participle.

47. THE SANSKRIT PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE.

The Editors of the Linguistic Survey say that "the periphrastic future is used very sparingly in the Brahmanas and only becomes more frequent in the later literature. It is, as is well known, formed from the noun of agency by adding the verb substantive in the first and second persons. Now the noun of agency is a present or indefinite form, not a future. In the Dravidian languages, on the other hand, the indefinite present is commonly also a future. The analogy becomes still more striking when we remember that the verb substantive is only added to the first two persons, just as nouns of agency in the Dravidian languages are used without any additions as verbs in third person singular, while pronominal suffixes are added in the first and second persons. Forms such as kartasmi 'I shall do,' kartasi 'thou shalt to, kartarah 'they will do', thus directly correspond to the Gond kiatona. 'I do,' that is, 'I am a doer '; kiatoni 'thou doert '; kihter ' they do ''. (L.S. IV-page, 281).

The above remarks overlook the circumstance that there is a periphrastic future in the Avesta in which the forms of the third person are as in Sanskrit the nomen agentis inflected for the three numbers:

neta netarau netarah

In the first and second persons the singular netā is compounded with the corresponding forms of the Avestie verb ah ' to be ' in all numbers (K. A. G. S. 471). Brugmann when dealing with periphrastic formations in the IndoGermanic languages mentions similar forms in which infinitival words are used with the verb substantive to express the future (Brug. IV S. 899). It will be noted that on the analogy of nelāmah instead of nelāmi, the first person plural is netāmah and not netārah smah; similarly we have in the Avesta patmahi 'we will protect' patasto 'you will protect' (K. A. G. S. 471).

These forms are a certain token that the component words had become fused into one word even in the Indo-Iranian period (C. F. Brug. IV, 896).

This instance shows the danger of assuming that, if a form not found in the Vedas is found in later Sanskrit, it must have been borrowed from a foreign source. The existence of such a form in the Avesta has demonstrated in this case that classical Sanskrit has inherited materials from some unknown Aryan dialects of India which are not represented in the existing Vedas.

48. THE SANSKRIT ACTIVE PAST PARTHUPLE.

The Editors of the Linguistic Survey say that "forms such as the Sanskrit kṛtavān one who has done are also peculiar to the later Sanskrit. The suffix -vat is of course Aryan, but it is not easily understood how an active form can be acrived at by adding the suffix to a passive participle. In the Dravidian languages on the other hand a participle is active as well as passive and a noun of agency is formed from it in all dialects. Thus from Tamil ceptu having done we form ceptavan one who has done.' The close agreement between kṛtavān and ceptavan is of course partly accidental. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt about the former having been influenced by the latter. In Sanskrit kṛtavān is an anomalous form without analogy in connected

^{1.} The corresponding Telugu form will be cesimma-du.

languages, while Tamil costavan is quite regular " (L.S. IV, page 281).

Here also the Editors of the Linguistic Survey have overlooked the existence in the Avesta of forms identical with those in Sanskrit. The following are some of the examples given in Kanga's Avestan Grammar, of past participles active, formed from past participles passive by suffixing the termination -vat (K.A.G. S. 563).

Root : pôrôz. 'to work' p.p.p. varsta p.p.a. varstavat, Root : ṣā 'to become propitious' p.p.p. ṣāna. p.p.a. ṣānavat.

49. The dravidian terminations of the nominative Masqueine traceable to the indo-germanic -mt- through indo-aryan.

The Indo-Iranians had inherited two present participles one active and the other passive, viz., bhaiat, bhriyamāna; two future participles, active and passive, viz., bhaisyat, bharisyamāna; but only past participle, passive, viz., bhria. In coining an active participle for the past they followed the model of the present and future participles active, and chose the suffix -vat so that all the three active participles may have practically identical declensions. In the nominative masculine singular -ts disappears leaving only -n, as bhavan, bharisyan, bhriavān. In the masculine nominative dual and plural and accusative singular and dual, the full conjuct -nt appears and thereafter only -t.

Present. Future. Past.

Nominative Sing. bharan bharisvan bhrtavāu
,, Dual. bharantau bharisvantau bhrtavantau

,, Plur. bharantah bharisyantah bhrtanantah

		Present.	Future.	Past.
Accusative	Sing.	bharantam	bharis yantam	bhrtavantam
22	Dual.	bharantan	bharis yantau	bhrtavantau
31	Plur.	bharatah	bharis yutah	bhrtavatah
finstr.	Sing.	bharata	bharis yatā	bhrtavata
		etc.,	ctc.,	etc.

If the object was merely to imitate Tamil, this could have been secured better by using the suffix -van which contains no -t and would show -n all case forms like Tamil, as :—

*bhrtavāna, *bhrtavānau, *bhrtavānai; etc.

*bhṛtavānam, *bhṛtavānau, *bhṛtavānau, etc.

The contention that the Sanskrit participle was based on the Tamil model is clearly untenable.

On the other hand it will be abundantly clear from an examination of the Dravidian forms 'Tamil ceytavan, Old Kanarese geydanam, Modern Kanarese geydanam etc., that the masculine singular nominative of the demonstrative pronoun has in every case imitated Aryan forms. This demonstrative is avan in 'Tamil and Malayāļam, avam in Old Kanarese, avanu in Modern Kanarese, but the Old Kanarese form is still retained by the Badagas on the Nilgiris; it is vādu or vānddu in Telugu, ondu in Madras Göndi, and vaāju vaāju in Kūi. The Tulu demonstrative singular masculine remote and proximate are ope and imba. In the table below, these demonstratives are compared with the masculine nominative singulars of the Aryan present participles which they imitate; the -ut of these participles is, as is well-known Indo-Germanic in origin.

Dravidian.	Dravidian	Aryan	Aryan
	forms.	forms.	dialects.
Tamil. Malayāļam.	anan .	thatan	Vedic

SEC. 49] DEAVIDIAN NOMINATIVE MASQULINE

Dravidian	Dravidian forms.	Aryan forms,	Aryan dialects.
Old Kanarese }	avam		Ardhamāgadhī
Telugu Madras Göndi	vāḍu, vaṇḍu ondu	bharanto bharantu	Pāli Apabhraniśa
Küi.	евн ји	haras (from barns)	(P.P.G. 327). Avestic (K.A.G.
		(itom sam)	Ss. 132 & 133.) (P.P.G.S. 397).
Tulu	aye	drvae (from *dru ru:	Avestic

The correspondences in this table gives us a clue as to the kind of Arvan influence to which the various parts of Southern India were subject in the earliest times. The Old Kanarese aram imitating bharam one of the forms assumed by the nominative masculine of the present participle bharat in Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhī betrays Jain or Buddhistic influence, while the Tamil away, which corresponds to the Vedic bhasan arising from the loss of -ts in the bhasants probably indicates that the earliest Aryan influence in the Tamil country was Brahmanic. Telugu and Madras Gond forms indicate Pali influence. The Kili termination - gir may be taken to arise from the palatalization of Telugu -ndu; perhaps so, but there is also the possibility of there having been an Aryan dialect in India possessing the Avestic form baras but not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakrts, and the Kui language might have received the termination -nin from the lost dialect. There is nothing very special in the form baras, the termination of which arises from ans, C. F. Sanskrit vidvārisa. In the case of the ays we have to postulate the existence of a similar dialect not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakris. Or we may expl in the final -e in age as due to the Magadhi influence, and regard the initial a- as equivalent to an- the vowel being lengthened in compensation for the loss of -a-; this Magadhi influence appears also in imbethe Tulu proximate demonstrative and the long- ā also appears in -al 'she,' -ār 'they (epicene),'

THE TELUGU - ndn HAS ARISEN FROM THE INDO-ARYAN - nin.

In the table given in the previous paragraph the Telagucerebrals -nd- or -d- corresponds to the Sanskrit -nt. As will have been seen from the examples given in S. 39 above Telagu appears to have a predilection for the cerebral -f- and -d-, for what is dental or alveolar in Kanarese and Tamil is very often converted into a cerebral sound in Telagu.

(i) andu, undu: There is a Telegu form of respectful accosting, viz., ?mandi, and the respectful form request is ceppandi, dayacevandi etc. These correspond to the Sanskrit idiom in which the persons addressed are put in the third person, as in agacchantu bhavantah 'May your honours be pleased to come where agachantu is the third person plural imperative; of the base a-yem "come" and bhavantah is the masculine nominative plural of bhavat 'your honour.' Bhavantal becomes bhonto in Pali and is further corrupted into hents or hunts in the later Prakrts (P.P.G.S. 476). An optional form was probably *bhanto or *hanto for the word bhante (=bhavantah) 'sirs' is frequently used when addressing heads, as in Asoka's letter to the Magadha Sangha where bhante punctuates the sentences. (I. A. Vol. V, page 257). The Apabhramsa forms for bhavan will be honte, huntu and hanturespectively (P.P.G.S. 397) these and the imperative plural termination -ante have apparently become -ondu and -undu. The forms ceppandu and cepandu are likely to be mistaken for the third person masculine negative, and the final vowels a probably differentiate the imperative; but we may have ceppandu and ceppandu. Thus emandi, dryaceyandi is really the hybrid formation emi bhavantah dayaceyantu.

(ii) E-du is a suffix indicating measure or quantity which is used in composition, as mure-du 'cubit length' jene-du 'span-length,' mone du 'as much as a mana etc. This suffix appears to be derived from the Vedic suffix just expressing the quantitative meaning of 'much' which occurs in i-yunt 'so much ' and ki-yant 'how much ' (M.V. G. 402 (d)). In later Sanskrit syatta, syattram meaning "measure, quantity," standard, limit, are from the gronoun irat. In Apabhramsa the nominative singular of this pronounwill be iyantu or entu; the -nt- of these forms being cerebralized we get ends ' measure' of the Telegu inscriptions as in manendu neyi pôyagala vandu " he must supply a mana of ghee " (E.I. Vol. VI, page 158). The nasal of this word has now dwindled into an ardhamsvara (obscure nasal) the existence of which is recognised by grammarians (C. B. Sandhi, 11, Taddhita, 25).

There is a word anta in Telugu meaning 'measure, quantity' as in ravanta, isumanta, konta (=okinta) etc., which is also traceable to an Aryan origin and is probably imitated from the terminations of etävant and tāvant 'so great,' yāvant 'as great,' ivant and iyant 'so great' (M.V.G.S. 462 [s]). This imitation must have been recent, long subsequent to the formation of edu.

(iii) Vanti as in alwanti 'resembling that': Tadvat in Sanskrit means not only 'possessing it' but also 'like it'; in the former sense -vat is declinable and in the latter indeclinable. Though indeclinable its real form is -vant which will become -vand in Telugu; with the oblique declensional suffix -ti the latter will become -vanti as in atmosphi māvanti 'resembling us,' mīvanti 'resembling you' etc. Compare the last two with the Vedic adjectival forms māvant 'like me,' toāvant 'like thee' (M. V. G. 402 (e)). Adjectives signifying after the manner of, like etc., were probably made formerly with the suffix -vant (W.S.G.S. 517, 1233. f.) māvant, toāvant, yaṣmāvant, puvāvant, ivant kivant, tāvant, etāvant yāvant. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language in the sense of tantus and quantus.

- (iv) anda: One of the meanings of the Sanskrit word anta is 'neighbourhood' as in antika, anterdsin etc. The Asoka inscriptions speak of antah meaning 'neighbouring kings' and probably also 'protected princes.' This word appears to have become anda which in Telugu and Tamil means not only 'neighbourhood' but also 'protection.'
- (v) Peranda: The Sanskrit word paryanta becomes peranta in Präkrt; following the analogy of anta it should become peranda in Dravidian in the sense of 'the area surrounding a house, a backyard.' In classical Telugu the word appears to have last the nasal and is written peradu as if it were a corruption of pratha, but the Telugus of the Tamil country preserve the nasal.
- (vi) edu: Another example which may be mentioned here, but with some reserve, is that of the Prākṛt present participle in ento; for according to Vararuci's sūtras (VII-10 and 34) present participles may end in ento as well as in anto (vide Cowell's Vararuci Introduction, page xxxi, also Hemacandra 11-167 and 158). This ento might have given rise to the suffix-edu in the Telugu present participles vaccedu, undedu etc., but there appear to be no authenticated instances even in Telugu dialects where the nasal is preserved.

The above examples are enough to show that -nt in Sanskrit often becomes -nd in Telugu. The termination

of -vandu and -ondu is thus derived from the Pali and Apabhramsa terminations -nto and -ntu of the table in the previous paragraph.

The intermediate form between -nt and -nd is the conjuct consonant -nr- of Tamil. This intermediate -nr- appears to occur in a Telugu inscription of Satyaditya of Renandu which is supposed to be anterior to the 9th century A.D. (E. 1. Vol. XI, page 337 et arq.). The words of the inscription in which the above conjunct consonant occurs are:—

köśyapagotrungu, Satyddityungu, člucungi, penangu, vaccunangu, undunangu;

but there are so many orthographical peculiarities in this inscription that it cannot be relied upon as furnishing indubitable evidence of the -nr- in Telugu. Further it has been suggested that -nru may probably stand for -ndru and may merely be the form; this explanation will not, however, apply to the word **elucumri**.

51. THE DRAVIDIAN MASCULINE SIGN -n.

It would appear from the discussion above that the termination of the nominative masculine singular of the Dravidian demonstrative pronoun varies from language to language, but in the oblique forms an -n- appears uniformly in all the languages under consideration. Thus we have in the accurative:—

Tamil avanai, Old Kanarese avanam, Telugu vānin, Göndi an (k) kai sāri.

The Dravidian variations in the nominative singular have their counterparts in the corresponding singulars of Aryan present participles, thus:—

Vedic bharan, Māgadhī bharam,
Apabhrainśa bharantu, Pāli bharanto,
Avestic barens, baras, baro droae.

The Vedic form is due to the elision of the final -ts
in the masculine singular bharants; the Māgadhī bharam
is probably due to a peculiar way of pronouncing the Vedic
bharan. In all the Aryan forms there is an inherent conjunct
-nt which is Indo-Germanic in origin and which owing to
various causes undergoes the above modifications; in cases
other than the nominative singular the Aryan -nt or -treappears.

The Indo-Aryan forms which contain this conjunct

- (i) The present, sorist and future participles active formed with the suffixes -ant, -syant,
- (ii) The past participle active formed with the suffix -vant and,
- (iii) The possessive adjectives formed with suffixes -rant, -mant.

Grammarians recognise two forms of the stem in these classes of words—the strong and the weak—the former containing the conjunct -nt as in bhavat, the latter containing only the single consonant -t as in bhavat. All the masculine case-forms from and inclusive of the accusative plural are formed from the weak stem, the previous ones being formed from the strong stem. In the neuter gender only the nominative, vocative and the accusative plural are formed from the strong stem, the remaining case-forms being made with the weak. In classical Sanskrit and in the Vedic dialects the nominative singular always ends in -n in the masculine, as in bhavan, bhagavan and in -t in the neuter, as in bhavat, bhagavat. The feminine form is obtained by affixing -t to the stem and is declined as a feminine noun in te.g. bharantt, bhavati, krtavati, buddhinati etc.

In the Prakris, however, which are supposed to represent in some cases a condition of the spoken vernaculars even anterior to that of the Vedic dialects, there is very great laxity in the use of the strong and the weak stems, almost every case being formed in some of them either from the strong or from the weak stem indiscriminately (P.P.G. Ss. 396-397); (Duroiselle's Pali Grammar, Ss. 219-230).

In the Avestic language there are two weak stems barad, baren (Sanskrit bharat, bharan) and one strong stem barand (Sanskrit bharant). The masculine nominative singular is never of the form baran (Sanskrit bharan) but always of the form bara, dirac (vide table in S. 49 above); the neuter nominative singular is always of the form barad (Sanskrit bharat). The stem baran occurs in the instrumental, dative and ablative phorals and may be used either for the masculine, or for the neuter in these case-forms as an alternative for the stem berad. Thus the Indo-Iranian bharant-bhis, bharant-bhyas which have become bharad-bhis and bharant-bhyas in Sanskrit appear as baradbis, baradbyo, barenbis, barinbyo in the Avestic language. For firther particulars See K.A.G. Ss. 132-132.

The correspondence between the terminations of the masculine nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun in Dravidian and those of the same case-forms in the Aryan participles and possessive adjectives etc., in -ant, -vant, -mant, is so exact even to details, that it leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the former are imitations of the latter, each Dravidian dialect imitating the contiguous Aryan dialect in this respect. The masculine nominative singulars ending in -n in Sanskrit are:—

bharan vydhan bharişyan kytavän dyutimän balayän present participle root aorist participle future participle active past participle possessive adjective do To these must be added :-

videan perfect participle

ballyon adjective (comparative degree).

Might it be that seeing this multiplicity of forms, all ending in -a in the 'masculine singular, many Dravidian languages adopted this letter as the sign of the masculine gender, and that subsequently the terminations of the nominative singular were changed in the various dialects in imitation of the contiguous Aryan dialects leaving the -a unchanged in the masculine oblique cases? The theory put forward in this book is that the Dravidian masculine sign -a, whether derived by imitation or by inheritance, is traceable to the Indo-Germanic ending -nt.

It is needless to point out here that the Sanskrit masculine forms mentioned above indicate only grammatical gender and may refer to irrational animals or inanimate things like simha 'a tion', waghra 'a tiger'. vrkşa' a teee,' soma 'the moon or the soma plant' which are all treated as of the neuter gender in Dravidian, as well as to males (and females, though rarely) of rational beings like manaya 'a man,' amatya 'a king's minister,' data 'a messenger,' kṣattriya 'a man of the kṣattriya caste,' dārāh 'wife.' In Tamil most nouns of the irrational (assinai) class, which now end in -m, may also optionally end in -n and some nouns of this class have only the latter form.

" a tree " marant, marant virtue ' aram, aran nilam, nilan ' the ground ' " a place " itam, itau bulam, bulan one of the five senses ' "fertility" valam, valan tiram, tiran ability' debt'. katam, katan

The forms ending in -y are usually considered archaic and poetical, but in the case of kafap 'debt', and a few other words, it is the form ending in -y that obtains in popular speech. In the case kafukkay an carring, commy a cloth, etc., there are no alternative forms ending in -m.

It would seem that all nouns of the kind we are considering formerly ended in g and that such of them as belonged to the irrational class had their final subsequently changed to -m so as to make them correspond to the Sarakrit nominative neuter singular jadnam 'knowledge,' bilam 'an aperture,' balam 'strength 'etc., leaving the final -n unchanged in the case of high caste nouns of the masculine gender like manitan 'a man,' kanaran 'a husband,' makan 'a son' etc. Nouns of the feminine gender like akkan 'an elder sister,' ammas 'mother,' have now become akka, akkal; amma, ammal, ammal, while amman 'a goddess' still continue to be amman.

The oblique base of these high caste nouns (upartital) in the singular is the same as the nominative singular, but neuter nouns ending in -m form the oblique base by substituting -t for -m.

	Nominative singular.	Oblique singular,	Accusative singular.
Rational masquine	makan	ptakag	makan-al
Neuter Old form	agan 'virtue'	azan	aray-ai
Modern form	aram	oral	oral-t-ai
Old form	itan.	itan	itan-ai
Modern form	ifam	itat	itat-t-ai

This reminds one of the Sanskrit bhavan and hhavat, and of the Avestic bases baren and barad.

52, THE DRAVIDIAN FEMININE SIGN -[.
Professor Sten Konow says (L.S. Vol. IV, p. 220).

"Nouns denoting women and goddesses are, in almost all dialects treated as high-caste nouns in the plural. In the singular, on the other hand, there is a double tendency. Tamil, Malavalam and Kanarese use a separate female form of which there appear to be some few traces in other Dravidian languages, while all other dialects substitute the neuter, The analogy from the plural seems to indicate that this latter tendency is an innovation of the languages in question, and that the feminine singular or rational nouns did not originally agree with the neuter. I may mention as a possibility that the feminine singular suffix -al in Tamil and Kanarese is only a modified form of the masculine -ay. It will be shown under the head of Gondi that there are distinct traces in that language of a system of inflection of nouns where rational masculine and feminine bases form an oblique base ending in -q while the oblique base of neuter nouns ends in -t. Though the latter form is now used in most nouns it is just probable that we have here to do with the last traces of an older state of affairs where the feminice singular like the feminine phural, agreed with the masculine,"

The characteristic sign of the feminine gender in Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, is the letter -! in the suffix -al. The other Dravidian languages which contain traces of this termination are:—

Telugu which has the words alu 'a woman, wife', kōdalu 'a daughter-in-law,' celiyalu, cellelu 'a younger sister,' maradalu 'younger female relation'; Kui kuali 'a Kui woman', Kurukh ali 'a woman.' Telugu has also the adjective ddu (literary d-du) 'female',

The nominative plural of the above Telugu nouns in -lu are andru, kodandru, celiyandru, cellendru, maradandru;

and the combination -ndr-appears in all the plural oblique forms of the nouns: e.g.

andranu, kādangra yokka etc.

The final -ru in the above forms is of course the plural sign, but what is the -nd? There is no inflexional increment -t- in the oblique singular of these nouns and the -nd can not he due to any incremental -t. It is apparently the original from which the feminine sign -l in aluete, has been derived; the original of als must have been ands from which Telugu ādu, ā (du 'female' have also been obviously derived by the total or partial loss of the nasal -n-). We saw before, that the Indo-Germanic -ut- has been cerebralized in Telugu and has given rise to the masculine sign -ndu as in magandu (husband), allundu 'son-in-law ' etc. The -n- of these words became an ardhānusvāra (obscure nasal) as in maga (du, allu) du etc., and has now wholly disappeared in colloquia! language as in magadu, alludu etc. By another process of corruption the same -no (arising from -nt) has futher become -l as nandu, adu, adu containing a arebral should have become alu, but in this as in many other cases in Teluga I replaces cerebral -I found in Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese as the sign of the feminine gender. Strange as it may seem both the masculine of and the feminine ending of appear to be derived from the same Indo-Germanic d-nt.

The feminine suffix *al is, thus, not a modified form, as supposed by Professor Sten Konow, of the masculine suffix *an, but both of them are modified forms of the Indo-Aryan *ant (Dravidian *ant, *and). There is, however, nothing improbable in the supposition made by him that in Gönçli rational masculine and feminine bases had at one time oblique bases ending in *n while the oblique bases of neuter nouns ended in *t; for the Dravidian languages have obviously been imitating the endings of Aryan forms

in this respect. We saw that there were two weak bases in the Avesta of the types barad and baray. Some Indo-Aryan vernaculars might have had similar weak bases and it is possible that the finals -d and -n of these bases might have been adopted in some Dravidian dialects for irrational and rational oblique bases.

In Tamil, as we have seen, the development appears to have been different. All rational masculine and neuter bases originally ended in -g (imitated from the cominative singular of the Sanskrit grammatical masculine) and the oblique bases also ended in -g. Subsequently the final of the neuter bases was changed to -m, this -m being again changed to -t in the oblique forms. The evolution in Telegu differed from that both in Göndi and in Tamil. This lack of uniformity shows that Dravidian languages have been subject to powerful disturbing influences.

At pages 120-126 of his Grammar, Bishop Caldwell enters into a detailed disquisition as to the origin and interrelations of the Dravidian signs of the masculine and the feminine singular, and arrives at the following conclusions:—

- Telugu -nd, Tamil, Malayājam and Kanarese -n and Old Kanarese -m are identical; the masculine suffixes -andu, -an, and, am, of these languages are also identical;
- (2) The Kūi word āāju 'a man' (which he writes āāu) is identical with the Tamil āŋ 'a male 'and also probably with the Tamil āḍ 'a man, a person of either sex.' The Kui āāu, he points out, is in some connections shortened into anu, and this fact, he thinks, renders it probable that the Dravidian masculine suffix -an is connected with the Kui āāu 'a man' and the Tamil -an 'a man';
- (3) Similarly the Dravidian feminine suffixes -al and -alu are, he says, derived from Telugu and Kui ālu a woman, which is probably connected with the Telugu adjective ādu female.

SEC. 53]

As we have seen above the suffixes dndu, an, and, am, can be said to be identical only in the sense that they are traceable ultimately to one and the same original; similarly Kui dau and the Tamil -an and -dl are identical only in the sense that their suffixes are derived from a common original. It is probably incorrect to assume that the roun dau has been shortened into the suffix -du and the roun dlu into the suffixes -alu and -al; these words have required their meanings of a man ' and ' a female ' respectively in consequence of these suffixes.

There is a connection between the three words \$\tilde{a}u\$, \$\tilde{a}n\$, and \$\tilde{a}l\$, on one side and the two words \$\tilde{a}du\$ and \$\tilde{a}lu\$ on the other, which Bishop Caldwell has not noticed. In Telugu \$\tilde{a}du\$ (adj.) means 'temale' and \$\tilde{a}dudi\$ means 'a woman,' but in Tamil \$\tilde{a}fum\$ means 'a male ' and \$\tilde{a}fum\$ means 'males'; in Telugu \$\tilde{a}da\tilde{a}gi\$ means 'n man of womanish character and ways'; the same word exists also in Tamil as \$ayyakan\$, (ayakay) 'a cunuch'. It would seem therefore that the terminations of the five words are derived from a common original, though the first three words denote 'a male' while the remaining two denote a female. This goes to confirm the inference stated above that the suffixes \$-al\$ and \$-an\$ are modified forms of \$-ant\$.

These facts clearly demonstrate that there was no differentiation of sex in the originals from which these words and suffixes have been derived and that each Dravidian vernacular attached to them a masculine or a feminine signification according to its own convention.

53. THE DRAVIDIAN FEMININE SIGN -di.

We may next consider how the feminine suffixes -aluctc. Telugu and allied languages came to be superseded by the suffixes -adi, ad etc. Bishop Galdwell and Professor Sten Konow consider adi, ed etc., as neuter singular demonstratives. The former says (C.D.G. page, 125) :--

"There is another mode of forming the feminine singular of appellative nouns, which is much used in all the Dravidian dialects and which may be regarded as specially characteristic of Telugu. It consists in suffixing the neuter singular demonstrative, its termination or modification of it to any abstract or neuter noun. The neuter singular demonstrative being used by Teluga instead of the feminine singular ("it" for 'she') this nenter suffix has naturally in Telugu supplied the place of a feminine suffix; and though in the other dialects the feminine pronouns are formed by means of feminine suffixes, not by those of the neuter, yet the less respectful Telugu usage has crept into the department of their appellative nouns. In Tamil this neuter-femining suffix is -attior -tti. This will appear on comparing rellal-atti 'a woman of the cultivator caste " with relial- an " a man of the same caste ' and vanua-tti ' a washer-woman ' with vanua-n ' a washerman* 31

Professor Sten Konow says (L.S. IV, page 290);-

"Brāhūī does not distinguish the genders even in the case of rational beings. Most other languages of the family Kurukh, Malto, Kūi, Gōṇḍi, Kōlāmī and Telugu have no feminine singular but use the neuter instead. The same is the ease in Kurumvārī a dialect of Kanarese, Kūi, and Gōṇḍi also use the neuter gender in the plural in order to denote feminine nouns,....,there are also some traces of the use of a feminine suffix corresponding to the Telugu feminine and neuter suffix -adi in Tamil and Kanarese. Thus Tamil vaṇṇāŋ 'a washerman' vaṇṇāti 'a washer-woman'; Kanarese okkaļati 'a farmer's wife '."

The neuter singular demonstrative pronoun is -adi in Telugu, and appellative nouns formed with this as suffix

may no doubt give the feminine names cimudi 'a young woman,' golladi 'a shepherd woman 'etc. But the neuter demonstrative in Tamil and Kanarese is -adu, and it is adu even in the oldest specimens of these languages that have come down to us, the final -i of Telugu being due to the special phonetic laws of that language. Further the dental in adu, adi, ad is a media by etymology and by origin, and its medial sound is not merely due to the intervocal pronunciation of g-t: for it does not become a tenue when it becomes initial by metathesis as in Telugu daniki 'to it.' It is not therefore easy to see how the "less respectful Telugu usage" would have given in Tamil and Kanarese, feminine nouns of the forms vellülatti, vannütti, ekkalati, and it is difficult to follow Bishop Caldwell's argument that these last are really neuter formations. The final -ti of these forms is probably a corruption of the Sans, stri 'a woman ' which becomes itthi, itthi, thi in Pali ; compare, for example, Pali saturittia four women, manuscitthis a female of the genus homo (or a goddess or absuras) ', natakitthio 'actresses,' tanotithi 'a young woman." The -ti might also have arisen from imitation of the terminations of the Aryan participial and other forms ending in -ti, c.g.

krtavati, buddhimati, balavati.

The former of these is the likely explanation, for the -ti of these last forms had very early become -ti even in even Präkrts, as Sanskrit, Präkrt blodi.

It is worthy of consideration whether the ending -di of Telugu ferminine nouns should not be regarded as having been derived from the -ti of Aryan forms. If the masculine terminal sign of the Telugu golla-du has arisen from imitating the ending of balavanta we may well suppose the feminine sign -di of golladi to have arisen from imitating the termination of balavant.

54. THE ARYAN DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS AND BASES.

In the last five paragraphs we have discussed the Aryan affinities of the signs which the Dravidian languages employ to distinguish gender in their demonstrative pronouns. It is proposed here to consider also the origin of the demonstrative roots and bases of the Dravidian languages and to ascertain to what extent they are related to the corresponding roots and bases in Aryan languages.

Demonstratives in Sanskrit: (M.V.G. Ss. 392-396; W.S.G. Ss. 503).

- (a) Ta the pronoun of the third person serves also as a demonstrative pronoun in Sanskrit. Tya meaning 'that' is another far demonstrative obtained by a slight modification of ta. Besides these Sanskrit has pronouns formed from the demonstrative roots and elements a, i, e. The stems of these demonstrative pronouns are taken by Indian grammarians to be tad, tyad, adas, idam and etad, the forms which they assume in the nominative singular neuter. Of these tad and tyad are inflected like the pronoun of the third person.
- (b) The near demonstrative eta obtained by prefixing e to ta means 'this here' and assumes the forms M. esas, F. esa. N. etad in the nominative singular. It is inflected like ta and tya and calls for no special remarks. The element e- is supposed by some to be the locative of the demonstrative root a.
- (c) The near demonstrative which appears as M. ayam, F. iyam, N. idam in the nominative singular means this here' and employs the pronominal roots a and (in various modifications) i in its inflexions; its paradigm is made up of forms derived from several stems. The following case forms are formed from the root a.

Instrumental, enayā, chhis, āhhis Dative, asmai, aspai, āhhyam, ehhyas, āhhyas. Ablative, asmai, aspās, āhhyām. Genitive, asna, aspās, annyas, esām, āsām. Locative, asmin, aspām, anayas, esū, āsu.

The case terms anena, anajā, anajos appear to have been formed from a stem anc.; the -n- of this stem is supposed by some grammarians to have been inserted for preventing biatus.

The forms imm, ime, imds, imds, imdmi, seem to be formed from a stem ima-, this stem is supposed by some to be derived from the accusative i-m of i. The form idam is supposed to be made up of i-d (the nom, acc. neuter of i) and the suffix -am.

The form: iyan and ayan are both supposed to be formed from the root i to which the suffix -an is added.

The following roots and stems thus enter into the paradigm:-

a. i. id. ana, ima.

(d) The far demonstrative which appears as masculine assa, feminine assa, neuter adas in the nominative singular means 'that, there, you'. The fundamental stem used in every case, except the nominative singular, is a-m which is supposed to be the accusative masculine of the demonstrative root a. This -am gives rise to the extended stems ama, ama and ami.

The singular case forms amon, amond, amond, amond, among amo

The dual form amübhjām, and the plural forms amübhis, amübhyas, amīsām, amūsu are formed from amū.

The plural forms ami, and bhis, amibhyas, amişûm, amişu are formed from ami.

In a-d as the root a is extended by the pronominal -d and the suffix -as.

In the form asan the root a appears to be extended by -sa-.

- (e) The pronoun and 'this' is found two or three times in the Rg-Veda and only in the genitive dual. The pronoun and 'this' occurs only once in the Atharva-Veda, e.g., another anni'this am I'.
- (f) The pronoun end is almost always used substantively, but its adjectival use like a demonstrative is aslo occasionally met with.
 - 55. DEMONSTRATIVE IN THE AVESTIC LANGUAGE.
- (a) Kanga's Avestic Grammar mentions the following as the crude forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the Avestic language (Ss. 215-224).

i. m: aēla ; n: aēlad ; f : aēlā, ii. m: ima, a ; n: imad, id ; f.: imā, a. iii. m: ava ; n: avm, avad ; f : avā.

(b) The inflections of the first set corresponding to the Sanskrit etaal do not call for any remarks.

In the inflections of the second set the following case forms appear:

i. Nom. and Acc. Neut. Sing. ad, imad, id, id, Plural ima, i :

ii. Nom. masc. Sing. : ayem, cem, Phural ime ;

iii. Nom. fem. Sing.: im, dual I, Plural imite, imitese;

iv. Acc. masc. Sing.: imem, Plural i, imit;

v. Instr. mass. Sing.: and, ana, Plural adais; fem. Sing.: aya, aha, Plural ahis;

Other forms are

vi. ažibis, ačibyo, ahmāi, ahmād, ažṣām, ainghē, ainghāt.

(c) The inflections of the third set are all formed from the base as-.

- i. Nom. and Acc. Neut. Sing.: aem. and. (Acc. mas. sing. aom. Acc. fem. ing. aom.)
 - ii. Nom. Plural Masc. avē. Neut. avē.
 - iii. Acc. Phural Masc. avē, avõi. Neut. ava, avd. avata, avde, ave, Fem. avõe, avanghõe.
 - iv. Instr. Masc. and Neut. Sing, and, mu. Piural andia. Other forms are
 - v. avahēte, avanghēta etc.

Nominative singular forms for the Masculine and the Feminine are not given.

- (d) All the demonstra ive roots and steme which occur in Sanskrit are also found here with the exception of those arising from the base are.
- (a) It appears from a comparison of the Avestic and Sanskrit demonstrative paradigms that the roots and elements a, i, i (locative of a) and the bases av., an., id., ad., im. were already in existence in the Indo-Iranian period. Of these a, i, av, an, id are even older than this period and are of Indo-Germanic antiquity (Brugmann Vol. III, S. 409, pp. 329-331). The last of them is to obviously the same as the Lacin id and the English it.

The stems ima- and ad- are not found outside Aryan and it is therefore inferred that the formation of new stems out of the accusative i-m and of a-d belongs to the Indo-Iranian period; the formation of the stems and, and out of the accusative a-m which are not found in the Avestic language belongs perhaps to the pro-Sanskrit period.

- 56. DEMONSTRATIVE IN NEW PERSIAN.
- (J. T. Platt's Persian Grammar, pp. 80 and 83.)
 - (a) The independent demonstrative pronouns are :—

 In ' this here', an ' that there'.

In is derived from the Paz: in, which, it is stated, is probably from a primitive ana, cf. Sanskrit ena.

In is the same as the Paz: and Phl.: ān, Old Persian anya 'other', cf. Sanskrit: anya, Hindi: ān. Some scholars, however, refer ān to the zend an- a Sanskrit an or an-a.

(b) The genderless pronouns of the third person ringular in the New Persian are:-

Singular av, but pronounced \$\ti \(\omega = \text{, vai} : \omega = \text{, i.e.} \) (old), 'he, she, it's. These appear to be derived from the Avestic demonstrative and: thus, \$\text{\$a\$=Paz} : \tilde{\sigma} = \text{Old Persian} \]
ava: \$\omega = \text{Paz} : \tilde{\sigma} = \text{Paz} : \tilde{\sigma} = \text{Old Persian} \]
ava: \$\omega = \text{Paz} : \tilde{\sigma} = \text{Paz} : \tilde{\sigma} = \text{Vai} is \]
probably a doublet of \$\omega = \text{,} \quad \text{.}\$

Piural I-san (archaic esan) they'.

- (c) Besides these we also meet with the relic of another demonstrative im (=0.P. ima, S. ima) which invariably replaces the demonstrative in before the words rez 'day', shap 'night', sall 'year' and occasionally before the word bor 'time' (page 95).
- (d) The affixed demonstrative pronoun u⁻—, i (archaic ≥) called the demonstrative u⁻, or 'the ya that makes the noun determinate'. It is often termed 'the definite article'; but it is really a demonstrative pronoun, and is generally interchangeable with the demonstrative ān. It is annexed to a noun in the singular or plural.

Remark. The demonstrative I (\$\vec{e}\$) is derived from the PhI: \$\vec{e}=0\$, P. demonstrative pronoun aits. It is the same pronoun which forms the base of the personal pronoun isom (\$\vec{e}\$san third person plural of I) (page 99).

57. DEMONSTRATIVES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS (B. A. G. Vol. III, S. 68, pp. 316-320).

The far demonstrative 'that	tive "that":	emonstra	far t	The
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	THE THE GENERALIS	are mine	
	Nominative Singular.	Ablative Singular.	Ablative Plural,
Hindi	u, o, vah	its	ten, such
Panjābī	uh,	us, uh	und, unho-
Sindhi	ā, kā, hō	un, hun	huni
Guzarati	a	0	4,0
Bengali	0	sehit.	uhd.
The Park of the Pa	The near demonstra	tive ' this '.	
Hindi	i, ih, e, eh, yah	ir	in, inh
Panjābī	ih, ch	is, ih	inā . inhā
Sindhi	1, ht, he	in, hin	hini
Guzarati		7	₹0
Oriya	e, ehi, ihi	ihū, ēka	ihā, ehā
Bengali	2	iha	That

Although the Avestic form an was practically unknown to the Indo-Aryan literary dialects, it appears to have existed in all the Aryan vernaculars of India, where it has been changed and shortened into δ , if and s in the far demonstratives of these vernaculars. The same change took place, as we have seen, in New Persian.

Of the three demonstrative roots and elements in the Vedic dialects, viz_+ , a_+i and \bar{e}_+ , only a was used as an independent demonstrative proroun in those dialects; in the modern vernaculars all the three appear to be so used. Mr. John Beames remarks in his grammar (Vol. II, page 318):—

"But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of these forms in any written works. They have their origin in all probability in a lower stratum of popular speech than ever found its way into writing before the time of Chand, whose forms, may, therefore, in this, as in so many other instances, be taken as the furthest point to which researches can at present be pushed back." If Mr. Beames had noticed the existence of the genderless pronouns -@ (archaic o), i (archaic o) in modern Persian and had known that o and @ are traceable to the Avestic and while o and i are traceable to the Phl o corresponding to the of the Sanskrit eta-, he would have seen that the Indo-Aryan popular speeches had preserved pre-historic forms which had disappeared from literary dialects.

58. THE DRAVIDIAN DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS AND BASES,

We shall begin this section by reproducing the table of Tamil demonstrative and interrogative pronouns given by Bishop Caldwell at page 316 of his grammar and quoting his observations thereon. (C. D. G. pages, 315-316.)

1. The Tamil demonstrative and interrogative pro-

The most common interrogative prefix is e. In all the Dravidian dialects this prefix is used in the formation of pronominals in precisely the same manner as the demonstrative bases a and i. It forms one of a set of vocalic prefixes (a, i, u, c) which occupy one and the same position, obey one and the same law and differ only in the particular signification which is expressed by each. The unity of principle pervading these prefixes will be clearly apparent from the subjoined compactive view. The forms which are here exhibited are those of the Tamil alone; but in this particular all the dialects agree on the whole so perfectly with the Tamil, and with one another that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. I exhibit here an alternative (probably an older) interrogative base in ya which will be inquired into further on.

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Interrogative e or	. pd.	enes or yang quity.	eval or ydeat quae.	edu or yodu quid.	dvar or yapar qui, quot	evel or yaver quae?	- II I	SA .	Jan 1
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"I need not call attention to the beautiful and philosophical regularity of this quadruple set of proximate, remote, and intermediate demonstratives and interrogatives. In no other language or family of languages in the world shall we find its equal or even its second. In addition to which, the circumstance that the demonstrative vowels are not only med in these languages with an invariable and exact discrimination of meaning which is not found in the Indo-European tongues (with the solitary and partial exception of the New Persian), but are also associated with a corresponding interrogative vowel of which the Indo-European tongues are totally ignorant, tends to confirm the supposition which I have already expressed, that the Dravidian family has retained some Prac-Sanskrit elements of immense antiquity; and in particular that its demonstratives, instead of being borrowed from Sanskrit, represent those old Japhetic bases from which the demonstratives of Sanskrit itself, as well as various other members of the Indo-European family were derived."

59. THE SO-CALLED INTERMEDIATE DEMONSTRATIVE II.

The intermediate demonstrative u is unknown to the popular dialects; Bishop Caldwell says (page 319):-

"The medial u is occasionally used by Tamil poets, more frequently in classical Kanarese and in Tulu', to denote a person or object intermediate between the remote and the proximate". Again "In Tamil poetry we find an adverbial demonstrative of place, sumpar, with the meaning of the intermediate demonstrative u, the correlatives of which are umpar 'that place', impar 'this place' and sumpar 'which place'; umpar means literally a place intermediate between two other places; but it is remarkable that it is also used in a secondary sense to signify 'on', 'upon', 'above and even upar 'height'.

⁽¹⁾ In Tulu it is one of the two near demonstratives.

It is doubtful however whether any instance can be givenfrom Cankam works or from any standard work in which umpar is used in the sense of intermediate place; several instances can be given from old Tamil in which the word means 'there', 'on the other side of —not the intermediate place; e.g.,

- (i) paṇi paṭu côlai vêṅkaṭattampar¹ "On the other side of the Veṅkaṭa hills the groves of which attract the mist".
- (ii) pal ver kaffi nannaffunpar2 "On the other side of the beautiful land of (the chieftain) Katti of many lances".
- (iii) nefumoli-p-pulli, ... nannaffumpar* "On the other side of the boastful Pullis flourishing domain ".

The signification 'on the other side of' will naturally lead to the secondary and figurative sense 'upon', 'above', 'superior to', 'height', etc., some of which are noticed by Bishop Caldwell; this latter sense will not arise from the meaning of 'intermediate place'. It may be noted in passing that one of the meanings of umpar is 'the sky the visible heaven'. The word impar 'on this side' is the correlative of umpar and is used in Tolkappiyam itself. It is doubtful whether empar is used by any old author. The word with derived from the same demonstrative u has the meaning 'better than', 'superior to'.

- (iv) agattin @ik@kkam evan@ spirkkir4 " What is more precious to human beings than (the practice of) virtue ".
- (v) agattin wikakkamum illai. "There can be no greater good than (the practice of) virtue."

The word u-p-pakken in the sense of 'the farther side'
the side away from us' the back 'as opposed to 'the front

^{1.} Aham 211.

^{2.} Kuruntokai, 11.

^{3.} Aham, 211.

^{4.} Kural, 31.

^{5.} Kural, 32.

side occurs in Kura! 630. Olai-y-um uppakkam kitupar 'they will make even fate turn back' that is, 'overcome it.'

The oldest Tamil work in existence which also happens to be a grammar mentions three demonstrative letters a, i and u. Of these, a admittedly refers to the distant thing or person and i to the proximate thing or person; s is a convenient particle to ruler to a third person or thing where there are three to be referred to, but commentators have apparently taken it to denote the intermediate person or thing so as to assign distinct functions to the three particles. The latter day interpretation of u as the intermediate demonstrative is thus not in consonance with its use in Old Tamil. It is not in consonance with its probable etymology, already been pointed out that eve has become e in Malayalam, Kūi and the Gondi dialects. It will be pointed out presently that it became a and later a (the pronoun of the third person) in Persian; and that the far demonstratives a and a in the modern Arvan vernaculars of the North have the same origin. It is probable that Tamil w has the same origin; its latter day use to denote the intermediate thing is wholly conventional and limited to literature.

In Tulu both indu and undu mean 'this'. In Kurukh a means 'that there'.

We must therefore conclude that the demonstrative element u is of comparatively late origin. If we have to give a name to this u we must call it a proximate demonstrative from its usage in Tulu and a semote demonstrative from its usage in Kurukh and in Old Tamil poetry.

60. THE SO-CALLED EUPHONIC-I-IN THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Dr. Kittel calls z the intermediate demonstrative; it is not known to what extent such use obtained in Old Kanarese, According to Bishop Caldwell the e-in the pronominal forms aren etc., iven etc., is wholly enchonic, inserted for the purpose of preventing hiatus between two vowels, as:

 $a\cdot(v)$ -an, $i\cdot(v)$ -an, $a\cdot(v)$ -an, $e\cdot(v)$ -an, and $ya\cdot(v)$ -an. In support of this view he draws attention to the circumstance that this-r-appears only when the termination indicating number and gender begins with a consonant, e.g.

a-(v)-an'he' a-(v)-al 'sht', a-(v)-ar'they' (epicene) a-(v)-ai 'they' (neuter), a-da 'it'.

The exceptional forms assumed by the pronominals in Telugu, Gondi, Tulu and Kanarese appear to militate against this view. Thus in Telugu the demonstratives are:

Could History	Singular,		Piural,
Masculine :	pa-ju, pt-du	1	pira, pira,
Ferninine;	adi, idi	1	- 1000
Neuter:	adi, idi		avi, fvi.
(oblique	däni, dini	(oblique	vati, viți.

In such of the forms in these paradigms as begin with a -v-, the demonstrative vowels a and r appear to have lost their initial position by metathesis but still the -v- persists. Bishop Caldwell says that in these forms the "-v- cuphonic has advanced a step further and assumed the position of a demonstrative in the nominative as well as in the inflexion. That this -v-, however is not a demonstrative and that the use to which it is put in Telugu is abnormal is shown by the fact that do and di, the inflexions of adi and idi the neuter singular demonstratives of the Telugu d, though certainly not a demonstrative nor even suphonic but simply a sign or suffix of neuter singularity, has been advanced to a prominent position (by a similar suphonic displacement) as it is belonged to the root." (page 319.)

In Gondi the neuter plural demonstratives as, is show a -e- which is not wanted to fill any hiatus.

That this -z- is not euphonic but an integral part of the demonstrative itself is clear from Tolkäppiyam, the Grammar of Old Tamil, which besides mentioning the demonstrative roots a, i, u mentions also extended forms av, iv, uv of these roots. These extended forms, of the existence of which Bishop Caldwell seems to have been unaware, were used in Old Tamil as demonstrative adjectives as well as demonstrative pronouns in the neuter plural e.g.,

av-ydyni ' that elephant ', av-ydfu ' that sheep '; similarly, iv-ydyni, iv-ydfu; uv-ydgni, uv-ydfu.

Kannimai nofi-y-ena avve multirai (Tol : I. Sütra-7).

'(Time taken in) twinkling the eye or snapping the fingers : these are termed multirai (in grammar)'.

These extended forms have become obsolete and are unknown to modern Tamil, but a grammatical rule provides that when words beginning with y-are compounded with a, i and u, as should be interposed between them (Nangūl, 162) e.g.: a-yaṇai 'that elephant' becomes asyāṇai, etc.

61. THE TULU DEMONSTRATIVES.

The exceptional and abnormal forms of the Tulu demonstratives will appear from the following paradigms: —

Singular, Plural,

Masculine: ays (rem) imbs (prox) ar (prox).

Ferminine: all (rem) mol (prox) ar (rem) mokulu (prox).

Neuter: avu (rem) indu, undu (prox), sikulu.

Adv: avulu 'there', mala 'here'.

The forms given by Professor Sten Konow (L.S... Vol. iv, page 486) are: all, id.

Bishop Caldwell's explanation of the forms containingm-instead of-s-is that the latter letter which is merely euphonic has been hardened into -m-, and that this -m- has again been changed into -mb-. He explains mêr as having arisen from imar which, he says, was originally item as in the connected languages. Similarly he explains môl as having arisen from imal. This latter explanation is hardly acceptable, for the -ō-in môl clearly shows that this word must have arisen from umal, not from imal. The circumstance that u- is earmarked by some as the intermediate demonstrative is no objection to this derivation, as in unto this same u- occurs in the Tulu near demonstrative.

Bishop Caldwell considers that in indu and undu, the neuter -d- has been nasalized; but it would seem to be more correct to regard them has having arisen from the bases in and un which have given rise to "imal, "umal "umalu or "umulu.

The final w in dye, imbe is perhaps due to Magadhi influence. The long initial a- in dye, al, dr probably arises from as or que.

It is remarkable that all forms of the proximate demonstrative show a nasal, while those of the remote demonstrative (except the neuter plural) show a -s- or modifications of -av-. This reminds one of the Avestic ima and ave, in addition to which Tulu apparently had formerly stems formed from the base um corresponding to the base uv of poetic Tamil and poetic Kanarese.

These correspondences make it impossible for us to regard the Dravidian bases as, iv, we as independent of Aryan bases, and to hold, as Bishop Caldwell does, that the final-s of these bases was emphonic in ultimate origin, or that the sp of is has been hardened into m in Tulu. The contrary supposition that the sp in is and we has taken the place of an older m has more probability on its side,

62. THE SO-GALLED EUPHONIC -# IN SOME VERBAL ENDINGS.

Bishop Caldwell says (page 319): "In the higher dialect of Tamil 8 is often used exphonically instead -p-, especially in the personal terminations of verbs. Thus instead of iruntage (for iruntage) 'he was', the poets sometimes say iruntages, and for iruntage 'they (neuter) were', the form we should expect to find used iruntage is universally used instead".

It has already been pointed out that the Old Tamil form iruntagen 'it was', in which -n- occurs between irunta-and-tu militates against this explanation, and that the forms iruntagen, truntagen, iruntagen, etc., contain a separate suffix -an- inserted between the participle iruntu- and the personal endings -an, -an, -ta, etc. We may regard the combined suffix and personal endings, viz., anan, -anal, -anar, -anru etc., as being personal pronouns from the Aryan demonstrative base ansimilar to anan, anal, anar, antu (av-tu) etc., formed from the base av in the verb forms iruntagen, iruntagen, iruntagen, iruntagen, etc.

63. THE RELATION OF DRAVIDIAN DEMONSTRATIVE TO ARYAN.

We are now in a position to discuss what relationshipthere is between the Aryan and the Dravidian demonstratives.

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Avestic. Avestic. 2. av im 3. av 4. a i 5. 6 v (Phl.) 2. iv (Phl.)
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(a) nd, id, ac, iv :-

The Avestic ad, id and the Sanskrit ad- as, id-am are neuter singulars. In the neuter plural the bases av, im; and am, im; are used: the nominative forms being are, ima, ima, i; and amuni, iman, imd. In Old Persian the plurals are avair, iman; (cf. Tamil avair avair).

In the Dravidian languages ad, id; adu, idu; adi, idi; are neuter singulars; in the neuter plural the bases aw, is come into play, the nominative forms being av, iv; avai; ivai; avi, ivi; avai, ivai. The d of the Dravidian singulars is not due to any intervocal pronunciation of a hard t, but appears like the d of the Aryan ad, id, to be a media (which is foreign to Tamil) by origin; for in Telugu it does not lose its medial sound even when it ceares to be intervocal, as adi 'that', dividi' to that', idi 'this', dividi' to this'. The v of the Dravidian plurals is radical, not cuphonic.

The Avestic as and im form the bases of masculine feminine and neuter pronouns with suitable gender signs—are (m) as a (f), asad, asm (n); ima (m) ima (f) imad (n). In the Indo-Aryan literary dialects, the base as plays little or no part having apparently been superseded by a new base s-m formed in the pro-Vedic period in imitation of i-m; here am, im form the bases of pronouns with distinction of gender; Similarly the Tamil, etc., as, is form the bases of pronouns; asas, isas, asal, isal, asta (as-da), thu, (is-ta) etc.

The Dravidian demonstrative bases and their methods of inflexion thus appear to be idencial with the Aryan demonstrative bases and methods of inflexion, but with this difference that in the Dravidian proximate base in, an appears in the place of the m of the Aryan proximate base im. The m,

Contrast with this the Telugu imperatives kammu agumu, kā 'become ye' where the guttural becomes a tenuis when it ceases to be intervocal.

however, still persists in all the near demonstratives of Tulus, and perhaps in the forms ands 'that', indu'this' of Telugus, and anta 'that', inta 'this' of Tamil.

It is therefore concluded that the Dravidian bases ad, id, an, in are derived from the Iranian and Vedic bases ad, id, av, am, im. Of these id and av are of Indo-Germanic antiquity; im and ad were formed in the Indo-Iranian period, and am in the pro-Vedic period.

The change of m into v is very common in Indian vernaculars:

av also exists in the shortened forms of δ , \tilde{u} in the Dravidian languages as in Persian and Modern Indo-Aryan, but with this difference that while, in the latter, these forms are by themselves demonstrative and personal pronouns, they occur only in composition in some of the Dravidian languages; e.g. Göndi δr , 'he' Madras Göndi $\delta u du$ 'he', Kūi $\delta u a ju$ • he', Tamil $\tilde{u} n k u$ 'superior to, above'.

a, b, d, d that ' and i ' this ' are used as indeclinable demonstrative adjectives in the Dravidian dialects marked (2) in item 5 of the table at the head of this para. Of these a, b, d, are shortened forms of av and l of iv. It is remarkable that Kūi and Brāhūi should use d as a remote demonstrative; compare the Tulu remote neuter plural aikuļu. These three instances deviating from the Indo-Aryan practice remind one of the Phil. d and Persian i, the bases of dehan and Ishan, the plurals of the genderless pronoun of the third person; these bases are traceable through Old Persian aita to the Avestic demonstrative adia corresponding to the Sanskrit eta.

In a specimen of the language of the Nilgiri Badagas published in the Linguistic Survey (Vol. IV, p. 403), the form evan occurs in the sense of 'this man'; if this is not a misprint, we have here an instance of the use of a in Dravidian as a near demonstrative.

The so-called intermediate demonstrative a appears tobe only a shortened form of a (o; ava). w and um appear to be of comparatively late origin formed in imitation of av, im.

a and i as the remote and near demonstratives occur only in composition in the Dravidian languages, though the former figures as an independent demonstrative in the Avestic language and in Sanskrit. The separation of functions between a and i as the remote and near bases is more complete in Dravidian than in Aryan.

(c) an :- The Aryan base an appears to have been imitated in the personal endings anan, anal, auru, anar, ana of verb-forms occurring in literary Tamil. These endings are formed in the same manner as the endings of iruntavan, irunlaval, etc., are formed the demonstrative stem av. There is, however, one objection to the identification of Tamil aywith the Aryan demonstrative as, for the former occurs not only in the verb forms of the third person but also in those of the first and second persons :- iruntanan 'I was ', iruntanam we were ', iruntanai ' thou wert ', iruntanir ' you were '. Alj the above forms containing at are wholly artificial and unknown to the spoken Tamil of the people; and it is possible that the formations were originally confined to the third person in accordance with the demonstrative nature of an but were subsequently extended by the poets to the first and second persons when the true nature of an was lost sight of. Such a thing has happened in poetic Tamil even to the demonstrative base av, for we have the sporadic forms eduravir " ye (who) have become great," kantavir1 " ye (who) saw." In Telugu also we have similar additions of first and second

^{1.} Kali-t-tokai, 140.

person endings to third personal forms, e.g., unnd(du 'he is,' unnöru 'they are,' unnö(danu 'I am,' unnöramu 'we are 'etc.

- (d) ta: In the Telugu forms \$\delta(du, \text{dtanu}, \text{sta}(du, \text{dtanu}, \text{sta}(du, \text{dtanu}, \text{itanu}, \text{stanu}, \text{in imitation of the Sanskrit stanund the Avestic atta. The dentals of all these forms are tenues as also that of atham and itham the pronouns of third person in Tuda, common to all genders and numbers.
- (e) The comparative table given at the head of this section is a practical and sufficient proof of the identity of the Dravidian demonstrative pronouns with some of those found in the Indo-Iranian group of languages and most of the lengthy discussion in Ss. 54-62 would have been unnecessary had not Bishop Caldwell obscured the subject by several incorrect propositions such as-(1) that the -pof the forms away etc., and the -n- of the forms anan etc., are euphonic; (2) that -u- is an intermediate demonstrative: (3) that the -m- of the Tulu forms arises from the hardening of a euphonic -- etc. He has also whittled down the affinities between the Dravidian and Arvan demonstratives to such an extent that there is nothing left of them but the identity of the initial vowels a, i, which again he assumes to be bases belonging to the old Japhetic stock. But we have seen that the demonstrative letters a, i originally existed in Tamil only as the initial of av, iv. Here is an illustration of how Bishop Caldwell's theories based on incomplete and incorrect information impede progress at every step.

64. INTERROGATIVE FORMS IN DRAVIDIAN.

Tamil: The personal, demonstrative and interregative pronouns in use in Old Tamil are enumerated in two sūtras (rules) of Tolkāppiyam (Col. 164 and 169). The former of these relating to high caste (rational) pronouns contains the following list :-

- (1) avay, ivay, avay (Third person masc, sing.) (2) aval, ival, uval (do. do. femi. do.)
- war (do. do, epicene (3) awar, ivar, plural.)
- (4) yan, yam, nam (First person). (5) ydvan, yaval, yavar (Interrogative).

The latter rule referring to pronouns of the irrational and inanimate caste contains the following list :-

- } (Third person neut. sing.)
 } (do. do. do. plur.) (1) atu, itu, utu (2) ahtu, ihtu, uhtu
- (3) avai, icai, uvai
- (4) av, iv, m (Interrogatives.) (5) yatu, yd., ydnai

It is worthy of note that none of the modern interrogatives coas, coal, coar, etc. coai, beginning with a short e finds a place in either list. A word evan is mentioned in Tolkappiyam (Col. Kilavi, 31) and does occur in Old Tamil but it is genderless in the sense of why, what, for what purpose'. For instance, it occurs sixteen times in Kural but always in the sense of 'why, what, for what purpose' and never in the sense of 'who?' (mase.); this eray has given rise to 25, enna, eppai in modern Tamil. In medieval Tamil poetry we find the forms êtu, êvan, êvar, of which only the has survived but with a meaning different from that of êtu. We also have in motiern Tamil the words yar, dr, who?

Malayalam: These facts raise a presumption that the modern forms coap, eval, evar, etu, eval mentioned in Bishop Caldwell's tabular statement (S. 58 above) were unknown to the Tamil dialect dealt with in Tolkappiyam. This presumption is strengthened, nay, is almost rendered a certainty by the circumstance that the Malayalam interrogatives all begin with long & or ya and that the Kanarese set all begin with ya, a, or da. In Malayalam we have &van, &val, &var, &du, &va; yavan, yaval, yavar (yar, ar), yadu; & and & are used as interrogative adjectives, the former occurring only as the initial of compounds like &kkālam what time, *eppati how, evvannam in what manner, how etc. None of the forms yavan, yaval, yavar, yau, yavai is used by the common people either in Tamil or in Malayalam.

Kanarese: The Kanarese set all begin yā, ā, or dā. The interrogative adjectives of this language are e, ē, ā, āva, yā, yāva, dāva. Of these e forms the initial of compounds like etta 'what place or direction', enitu' what quantity or number', elli 'where,' endu 'when,' ehage' in what manner'. The rest are not compounded but stand as separate words detached from the nouns qualified, e.g.: ā-hottu 'what time', āva-mātu 'which word', dava ūra 'what village', etc.

Tulu: The Tulu interrogatives are do 'which'; also days 'why?' dans, jone 'what?'; yer' who?'. This yer appears as der 'who?' in Brahūi.

Telugu: The Telugu forms are masc. eva(du, epicene plural evaru), fem. and neut. sing.: edi, êdi, neut. plur.: evi, êvi.

Kurukh and Malts have interrogatives beginning with

65. THE ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIAN INTERROGATIVE FORMS WITH THE INITIAL da-.

It is well known that the initial y- of Sanskrit words always becomes j1 in Prakrts—:—e.g. yaşti "liquorice",

Ader yo july (Var. II, 31) 'j is substituted for an initial y'.

yasas 'glory', yaksa 'a demi-god' etc., become jatthi, jasi, jakkha etc. Similarly the relative pronoun meaning 'who, which 'which is indicated in Sanskrit by the type ya has become ja in Präkrt and the modern Aryan vernaculars, and yavat has become java through an intermediate yava.

The Sanskrit palatal medial j is very often changed into d in Ardhamāgadhi and Singhalese languages; e.g., jugupid 'disgust', jyotmā 'moonlight,' rājan 'a king', tejas 'lustre', majjā 'marrow, pith 'have become dugāchā, doinā, rada, tedu, midul (vide I. A. Vol. XI, pages 216-217). The word jāmātā 'son-in-law' appears as dāmādā in some North-Indian vernaculars. In Sanskrit itself the form dampatī 'husband and wife' is derived by some from jampatī (jāyāpatī). The Avestic z which in some cases is equivalent to Sanskrit j, becomes d in Persian.

In the Dravidian languages also j often changes place with d in words of North-Indian or foreign origin: s.g., jinisu, činisu, * class, kind *; javana, davana * the plant artemisia indica * etc.

The alternative forms done, jone what of Tulu indicate that the initial d of interrogative forms has probably arisen from a j; and the Tulu yer who corresponding to the Brahui der who, shows that the initial y- has probably become d-through an intermediate j. It is therefore inferred that the Kanarese forms ya, yava, yavanu, etc., became da, dava, davanu, etc., through the intermediate forms ja, java, javanu etc. This is also the explanation which Dr. Kittel seems to suggest of the initial d- (K. K. G. S. 265, page 231).

66. The inter-relations of interrogative forms with ential $y\bar{a},\bar{e}$ and \bar{a} .

Scholars hold wholly divergent views on this question.

(a) Bishop Caldwell says (C.D.G. pages, 316-317):—

"Probably there was originally only one interrogative base, and if so, it must have been ya and s must have been corrupted from it. The process by which ya become s is tolerably clear. A evinces a tendency to become \$\vec{e}\$. In Tulu yas becomes yes. This is a considerable step towards \$\vec{e}\$. Then also \$\vec{e}\$ is commonly pronounced ye, and \$\vec{e}\$ as y\$\vec{e}\$; and in Telugu this \$y\$ is frequently written as well as heard. This would facilitate the omission of the y in writing, when ya came generally to be weakened into y\$\vec{e}\$. Is alone would in time have the same force as ya, and would come to be regarded as its equivalent. The leng form \$\vec{e}\$ still survives in Malayalam \$\vec{e}aay\$, \$\vec{e}val\$, the, she', for, \$\vec{e}vay\$, \$\vec{e}val\$; and in the Tamil and Malayalam \$\vec{e}du\$, and the Telugu \$\vec{e}di\$."

Bishop Caldwell does not notice the Kanarese interrogatives beginning with 4.

(b) Dr. Kittle on the other hand regards & as the original base and yd to have been corrupted from it. According to him "The interrogative pronouns deam (ydvanu, dovanu, dovanu) aval (ydvalu, dovalu) dvadu (ydvalu, dovadu), ar (ydvanu, dovanu) rest on the interrogative &; that becomes yd in the oblique cases of the mediaeval and modern dialects, which is another form of d" (K.K.G.S. 265, page 231). In support of this view he also draws attention to the circumstance that "many Kannada people pronounce and write the initial vowels i, i, e, & ungrammatically prefixing y to them . . . Regarding initial e, they use also ya instead of ye, e.g., yanu, yanuni for em an ox', emmei a buffalo'. Initial & may also appear as yd e.g. ydlakki, ydke for Elakki' cardamoms' & e' for what'; also when attached to an initial consonant: e.g.:—

dyāva, myāle for deva 'a god', mele 'above.'

As between # and #, he seems to think that it is immaterial which of these is taken as the original as "they are related

and occasionally interchanged." (Ibid. S. 138, page 77.) He also considers the -v- in dva, ydva, ddva to be suphonic and that dva and ydva have been incorrectly assumed to be the bases of forms like dvam (ĉ-v-am), ydvam (ĉ-v-am), etc. (Ibid. S. 265, page 231). In his view dva and ydva are mere substitutes for ĉ.

(c) Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar, The question, which of the three initials sa, e, a is primitive, is discussed in a paper entitled 'The Glides ' written by Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar. In this paper, the author considers the ctymology of a number of Old Tamil words1 beginning with ya and of the alternative forms which these words assume with initial a or a either in Tamil itself or in the other Dravidian languages, and arrives at the conclusion that I was the primitive initial and that the prothetic ? was an on-glide necessitated by the difficulty of pronouncing an initial back-vowel. The opinions of Professor Juline Vinson and of Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, London are also quoted in the paper in support of these conclusions. Professor Vinson is quoted as saying that "the palatal semi-vowel is never initial in Tamil and primitive Dravidian. One might suppose that ? was primitive, that it changed into yo, then into a ", "an a could never have been preceded by 2 and perhaps the collection of the Dravidian forms points to the conclusion that the long a was primitive". Dr. Barnett expresses himself thus :-

"In general I agree with your conclusion as to the initial a-being proto-Dravidian. The evidence suggests

 ⁽a) yātu 'a sheep, a goat', (b) yāṇtu 'a year',
 (c) yāmai 'a tortoise', (d) yāṭi 'u lion', (e) yāṭu 'a river',
 (f) yāṇai 'an elephant'. (g) yār 'who', (h) yāy 'mother', which have also the alternative forms (a) āṭu, eṭa, (b) āṇṭu, ē-ṭu.
 (c) āmai, ēve (d) āṭi, (e) āru, ēru (f) ānai, ēnu-gu (g) ar
 (h) ay.

that the primitive Dravidian had no initial y- and that is sporadically developed later after the various languages had branched off."

- THE INTER-RELATIONS OF INTERROGATIVE FORMS WITH INITIAL Ja, F., AND a (CONTD.)
- (a) The above extracts show what wholly divergent views have been held by scholars on the question as to which of the three ȳū, ε, ā is the primitive interrogative base. The whole of the argument in 'The Glides' is based on the assumption that the Old Tamil words with the initial ȳū were all true Dravidian words, and that these or their originals existed in proto-Dravidian. This assumption can be disproved in the case of some at least of these words. For instance,
- (1) yāļi 'a lion.' The Sanskrit vyāļa, vyāļika mean 'a beast of prey.' An initial vyā- of Sanskrit words sometimes loses the r- in Tamil, cī. vyāpāra 'trade' which becomes yāvāram in Tamil and vyāļa 'Thursday' is often pronounced yāļa. Vyālika may thus become yāļi and this may further change into āļi by the loss of y-.

Vyāļa also means 'a vicious elephant' in Sanskrit and has become vēļam 'an elephant' in Tamil by another process of phonetic corruption. cf. vyāghra 'a tiger' which corresponds to vēnkai in Tamil.

(ii) yāy 'mother,' This and several allied words occur in the Paisāca languages of the North-west. Thus English 'Mother' Wai-Ala vie; Kalāsa aya; Gawar Bati jai; Pasai ai: Garioi yai; šīnā (dial) āzē.

Sir George A Grierson thinks that these words are connected with the Sanskilt verb jayate he is born . The

^{1.} Paisāca Languages, page 75.

Sanskrit jaya 'a wife ' is also connected with this verb. Thus the initial of yay arises from the Sanskrit j.

Indo-Aryan word of Indo-Germanic affinities. The English word goat appears with a palatal vowel or diphthong in Anglo-Saxon and most Teutonic languages, e.g. A. S. gat, Du. geit, Swed. get, Iccl. geit, Ger. geiss, Gothic guitsa (vide Skeat), Latin hachus shows an h (as is often the case in this language) instead of a palatal medial aspirate. The Sanskrit eda (ka) has the original d cerebralised and appears to have lost the initial aspirate which is however preserved in the Brāhūi hēt. The initial pd of the Old Tamil yūtu has thus apparently arisen from an original jhē or hē.

The form itaiyan, colloq, etayan 'a shepherd' shows that the initial vowel was originally ? as in the Sanskrit eda (ka), Brāhūi het.

(iv) youfu 'a year'. The cerebral -nt- was perhaps originally the alveolar conjunct -pr -; if so, both youfu 'a year' and adagu, nongu'a day' must have been derived from an original "youru, and all these words are obviously connected with the Tamil engu 'the sun' and the Telingu enda 'sunshine.' There is nothing surprising in the names for 'day' and for 'year' being both connected with that of the Sun.

The Telugu nagu 'a day', the Tamil nal 'a day' are obviously derived from nauru, and the whole group appears to have Aryan affinities.

Some of the other words in the list can easily be shown to be foreign loans but they are not dealt with here as this will cause too great a digression from the subject on hand.

The illustrations given are, however, enough to show that the initial 26- of Old Tamil must have arisen in various ways from various sources. It is stated in Tolkappiyam¹ that Tamil words cannot begin with j- unless this consonant be combined with the long ā. Such words as did begin with jā- in Old Tamil have, most of them, now lost the initial j- in popular speech as this was apparently repugnant to the genuis of Tamil. Professor Vinson and Dr. Barnett are therefore perfectly correct in saying that there was no initial j- in primitive Dravidian. We can understand the creeping in of a prothetic j- in the vulgar pronunciation of palatal vowels, but it is difficult to assent to Mr. C.P. Venkararama Aiyar's assumption that in a certain stage of development an initial j- was found necessary in some of the most highly cultivated of the Dravidian languages, as an on-glide before the initial long vowel \$\tilde{a}\$, and that this j- was subsequently dispensed with.

(b) Words found in Old Tamil with the initial jashould, prima facie, be regarded as foreign words which have since lost the y- in accordance with Tamil phonetic laws; this is specially so with regard to the interregative forms beginning with ya-. The Old Tamil initial ja- some-

a-v-ōţu allatu yakaramatalatu (Tolkāppiyam, Eluttu. Moli Marapu, 32.)

^{2.} The only example which Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar is able to cite in support of his view is that of the Pålis of Dinajāpur regarding whom Mr. G. H. Damant observed that they seem to be unable to pronounce initial r and sometimes, initial ā; and that thereforce they pronounce āmi 'I' as hāmi with a strong accent on the first syllable" (I. A. 1872). It is possible that hāmi is the correct form and pronunciation of the word in the language of the Pålis. In the lists of words given at page I of 'The Glides' hāmi is shown as the pronoun of the first person singular in the Chenchu language and we know that this word is cognate with the Hindi hām and is ultimately traceable to the Sanskrit aham: in the Naipali language hāmi is the first person plural nominative (BAG, Vol. II, page 302).

times appears as \tilde{e} - in mediaeval Tamil and this \tilde{e} - has been shortened into e- in modern Tamil; and all the interrogative forms now current in the spoken Tamil of the people begin with e or \tilde{e} :—

ên, etu, enna, enta, evan, eval, evar, êtu, evai.

None of the modern interrogative pronouns finds a place in either of the two (Old Tamil) lists of pronouns given already. In Tolkappiyam¹ it is stated that there are only four Tamil words of one syllable ending in -v; these words are stated in the commentaries to be the three demonstratives av, iv, uv, and a fourth word tw, 'an enemy'; the interrogative ev is not mentioned here. Neither does the short a referred to in the Nannül (sütra 162) find a place among the interrogative letters which are stated to be only three a, \(\delta\), \(\delta\)* though that this interrogative initially in composition as in appears "what name "evayin."

According to Modern Tamil pratice the pronouns atu, itu, utu, etu, yūtu receive an inflexional increment as before the case post-positions, e.g.

at-an-ai, it-an-al, ut-an-aiu, et-an-in, yat-an-ai.

Tolkāppiyam prescribes this increment for atu, itu, and vātu, but does not speak of or mention etu. Similarly the neuter plurals avai, ivai, avai, evai yāvai, now receive an inflexional increment arr-; Tolkāppiyam, prescribes this increment for avai, ivai, avai, yāvai but does not speak of or or mention evai.

^{1.} Vakara-k-kilavi nän moli-y-irratu (Eluttu, Moli. 48).

Ā ē ō ammūnrom v nā (Eļuttu. Nūnmarapu, 32).

^{3.} Eluttu. Papariyal, 96.

^{4.} Eluttu. Pullai 39.

^{5.} Tol. Eluttu. Urupiyal-4, 5, 6, 28.

These facts leave little room for doubt that the interrogative pronouns with the short initial e came into use
after the time of Tolkäppiyam, i.e., after the beginning
of the Christian era; they are even now unknown to
Malayalam. The interrogative base se and the pronouns
formed therewith were apparently recent adoptions in Tamil
at the time of Tolkappiyam; recent because the se had not
yet been converted into e or a; e.g., ydvas etc., into evan etc.,
and sdr into or.

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If initial e is mispronounced as ye in popular speech, initial $y\bar{e}$ is also often mispronounced as e; Dr. Kittel's arguments for holding e to be the original interrogative base are therefore not conclusive.

The oldest specimens of Dravidian speech that have come down to us belong to Tamil and Kanarese. The Tamil interrogatives in these specimens mostly begin with ya, but there is also the form way 'why, what for' and the initial short s in interrogative compounds. The interrogatives in the oldest Kanarese specimens appear to begin with s or s; but as the Tamil specimens are earlier by some centuries than the Kanarese specimens it is allowable to assume with Bishop Caldwell that ya was the original interrogative and that s has arisen from the corruption of ya.

The theory which assumes the y- in the initial yd of Old Tamil words to be an on-glide has little to recommend it.

68. AFFINITIES OF THE BASE pd-.

Assuming yo- to be the primitive base we shall proceed to enquire if it has any extra Dravidian affinities, Bishop Caldwell says that the base pd- has no extra Dravidian relationship as the ordinary bases of the interrogatives in the Indo-European family and the Scythian group of languages begin with the gutteral & and he appears tothink the Dravidian pd- to be isolated. He also observes (C.D.G. page, 332):

"In the absence of a real relative pronoun, the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian languages. The base of the Sanskrit relative pronoun ya (yas,
ya, yat) bears a close apparent resemblance to the Draivdian
interrogative ya. The Sanskrit ya, however, like the derived
North-Indian ja, and the Finnish ya, is used as a relative
whereas the Dravidian ya is exclusively and distinctly
interrogative,

"It has been conjectured that the Sanskrit ya though now a relative, was a demonstrative originally; and if (as we shall see that there is some reason for supposing) the Dravidian interrogatives s and a were originally demonstratives, it may be supposed that ya was also a demonstrative, though of this no direct evidence whatever now remains. If ya were originally a demonstrative, the connection which would then appear to exist between it and the Sanskrit relative would require to be removed a step further back; for it is not in Sanskrit that the relative ya has the force of a demonstrative, but in other and more distant tongues, viz., in the Lithuanian yis 'he'; and in the Slavonian yam, and the Zend yim 'him'."

(i) In saying that the Dravidian jd is "exclusively and distinctively an interrogative" Bishop Caldwell appears to overlook or ignore the circumstance that jdeas, jdeal, etc., and all the modern variations thereof are used both as relatives and interrogatives. In Cinnayya Süri's Telugu Bālavyākaraṇamu the interrogative pronouns are called yat-kim-arthakamu 'Relative-interrogatives'. Illustrations of this double use will presently he given and reference will be made to Dr. Kittel's criticism, thereon, viz., that the 'so called' relative pronouns are interrogatives.

(ii) It is not in the Scythian languages alone that the interrogative is used as a relative pronoun. Indo-Germanic philologists tell us that the stem *i-o which was originally anaphoric came to be used as a relative without losing its anaphoric value even in the pro-ethnic period of the Indo-Germanic languages, and that this relative *i-o was displaced later by derivatives from the interrogative stem* qo and the demonstrative stem *io- in several languages, (Brugmann Vol. III, pages 331-332). We can see this displacement of the relative stem in the use as relatives of the interrogatives who, which what, and of the demonstrative that in modern English in which no representative of the pro-ethnic relative stem *i-o now survives. (in Teutonic ha and th correspond to the proethnic hand t).

69. THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS IN THE VEDAS AND THEIR IMITATION IN TAMIL (DRAVIDIAN).

In his Sanskrit Grammar (S. 512) Professor W. D. Whitney briefly notices two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative pronoun. One of these is "a very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates; thus,

Sanskrit, yah sunvatah takhō tasmi Indrāya gōyata (R. V. English, who (is) the friend of the somapresser, to that

Indra sing ye.....

"The other arrangement where the correlative is put before the relative though frequent enough, is notably less usual". The second peculiarity noticed is "a frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause; thus, Sanskrit: pari no pôhi yad dhanam (A.V.)

English: of us protect what wealth (there is)."

The examples given by Professor Whitney, only two of which are reproduced above, are taken from the whole range of Sanskrit literature, but those given below are from the Taittiriya Veda where the two peculiarities have been developed to an excessive degree and are most noticeable.

(i) Sans: ye nus sapatno apa te bhavantu (T. S. IV-7-32).

Eng: who (are) our enemies let them be banished hence.

i.e., let those who are our enmies be banished hence.

Tamil: yūr enkaļukku vairikaļū avarkaļ tolaintu pāvūrkaļūka.

(ii) Sans.: yanı dvişmo yas ca no dvēşţi tam võ jambhē dadhöni.

Eng.; whom we hate and who us hates, him in your jaws I place.

i.e., I place in your jaws (for being crushed) him whom we hate and who hates us.

Tamil : evan ai nänkal pakaikkirömö evan enkalai pakaikkirönö avanai unkal kataiväykkul vaikkiren.

(iii) Sans: Tā (vyōhṛHḥ) yō vēda sa vēda Brahma (T.A. 5-6).

Eng: Those (mystic words) who knows he knows Brahma.

i.e. he who knows those (mystic words) will realize Brahma.

Tamil: Anta (vyökiruti-kaļai) evaņ-5 avaņ Peuhma t-tai arīvān.

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(iv) Sans: y. ¿nam viduli amṛtās tē bhavanti (T. A-6-1). Eng: who this (Being) know immortal they become, i.e. Those who know this (Being) (will) become immortal.

Tamil: Inta (-p-parulai) evarkal arikir@rkal-0 avarkal maranam ill@tavarkal @v@rkal.

(v) Sans: yad aham veda tad aham dhūrayāni (T.A. 7-43).

Eng: What I know that let me remember.

i.e. May I not forget that which (what) I know (have learnt).

Taunil: etai non terintu konfirukkir (no- adai magacomal irupp@noka.

 (vi) Sans: yöni anavadyöni karaöni töni sevita-nyöni nö itaröni (T.A. 6-64),

Eng: What (are) blameless actions these should be performed, no others.

i.e., you should perform only such actions as are blameless.

Tamil: evai nirtöşamöna köryam-kal-ö avai-kalai möttiram tön ninkal seyya-vönsum.

(vii) Sans : 30 vai tam Beahmano veda amrtenavrtam.

Eng: who indeed that Brahman's knows light-encompassed.

Suns : purim tarmai Brahma ca Brahmā ca āyuh.

Eng: citadel to him Brahman and Brahma long life,

Sans: kirtim prajūm daduh (T.A. 1-27).

Eng: Fame progeny will give.

Brahman and Brahma will bestow long life, frame, and progeny on him who knows that light—encompassed citadel of Brahman. Tamil: Anta për šoli ülnta para prahmattin këttaiyai
evan azikizën ë ananukku paraprahmamum
prahmëvum tirkëyucaiyum, kirttiyai-yum
Cantali-yai-yum ali-p-përkal.

The above are a few examples taken from the Taittiriya Veda of the relative pronouns derived from the base xi-; such constructions occur by many hundreds in the Āraṇyaka portions.

They are all practically interrogative constructions; in fact in the English and Tamil (Dravidian) renderings given above interrogative pronouns are used. In Sanskrit the relative construction is distinguished from the interrogative by the use of different sets of pronouns derived from the bases ya and ka; in English this distinction is indicated by a difference in syntax and in Tamil (Dravidian) by the use of the particle o. Thus, in the English sentence 'He married the girl whom he loved from childhood ' the collocation ' whom he loved from childhood' has the force of an adjective qualifying the word 'girl'; if it was an interrogative the syntactical arrangement would be whom did he love from childhood. So in Tamil (Dravidian) orai polyam mutal vilaintor whom did he love from childhood is a question which requires an answer; but drai palyam mutal vilaintar o whom he loved from childhood ' assumes that he did love somebody from childhood and proceeds to predicate something about that person.

Sometimes the relative pronoun comes after its correlative as in the English idiom 'he, who etc.', 'that, which etc.', 'those which etc.'.

> (viii) Sans : Dhūrva tam yō ' smin dhūrvati tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah (T.S.I. 1-5).

> Eng : Injure him take us injures, injure him whomwe injure.

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Tamil: way enkalukkut tinku cey-kirano avanai-k-kefuttu vifunkaj.

> evanukku niinkal tiitku cey-kiromo avanai-y-um kefutla-cifunkal.

 (ix) Sans: sa ya etadannamanne pratisthitam veda pratitisthati.

Eng : he who this food in food fixed knows secures a firm position :

he who knows that this food is established on food secures a firm position.

Tamil: Inta annattukku annamē ātāram entu evan arīkirānā avan nīlai pertu valvān.

More rarely the correlative is omitted as in the English idiom 'who steals my purse steals trash'.

(x) Sans: Saisā bhārgavī vidyā, parame vyoman pratisthitā,
 ya evam veda pratisisthati,

Eng: who thus knows secures a firm position, Tamil: wen ippati arikirano avan nilai perçu volvan.

The second peculiarity where the subject or object of a sentence is converted into a substantive clause by an added relative has naturally led to the insertion of the corresponding correlative also in most cases; this amounts almost to a misuse of the relative construction. Such a construction is usually resorted to when a thing or person cannot be indicated by a single word or phrase; but to convert a sufficiently expressive word or phrase into a clause by the addition of a relative except where such conversion is required for effect, is mere verbiage: thus:

(xi) Sans: yuh pituramijäyäh putrah sa purastönnayati. Eng: who (is) father's younger sister's son he leads in front.

Sans: yo māturannjāyāh putrah, sa pašeānnayati. (T.B. 3-8-4).

Eng: who (is) mother's younger sister's son he drags from behind,

In these two sentences the relatives and their correlatives may both be omitted advantageously without any loss of perspicuity.

(xii) Sans : Gra tad arya yad vaisyah.

Eng: His thighs (are) that which (is known as) the Vaiśya.

Here again the addition of a relative and its correlative seems to be wholly unnecessary. Such constructions are exceedingly numerous in the later portions of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyakas. (Vide T. B. III—12-6 and 7; T.A. VI—64.)

The two perculiarities noticed by Professor Whitney and carried to excess in the manner illustrated above have made the relative construction look as if it was an interrogative one, and appear to take Sanskrit half way towards dispensing with one of the two pronominal sets as has actually been done in some Indo-Germanic languages.

70. DR. KITTEL ON THE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN EAMARESE.

Dr. Kittel thinks that the so-called relative sentences in Kanarese are really interrogative.

"It has been stated (already) that there are no relative pronouns in Kannada and (that) their place is somehow supplied by the so-called relative participles. **** Occasionally, however, there occur sentences in the three dialects which might suggest the thought as if the interrogative pronouns were used as the relative ones, e.g.;

(i) Kan: Avan adhika punyan avanê sêvyan? Eng: who (is) a very righteous man he (indeed) is venerable.

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But this translation is misleading; the correct literal translation is 'who (is) a very righteous man? he (indeed) is venerable?

That the meaning of the above and similar sentences is thus to be explained by the interrogative pronoun followed by a demonstrative one becomes plainer by instances taken from the modern dialect in which the vowel of of questioning is often used, e.g.

- (ii) Kan: Aneya mumbh@ga yevad@? adu d@ntabh@ga. Eng: what (is) the forepart of an elephant's head, it is the dantabh@ga.
- (iii) Kan: Yavanu kelasa maduwano? avanu uppuwanu. Eng: who work does? he shall have a dinner." (K. K. G. S. 267).

He returns to the subject again in sections 329 and 330 of his grammar.

- "When a relative participle with a demonstrative adverb of time, as barwaga (barwa+dga) 'when I come; when thou comest; when he, she, it comes; when we, you, they come;' is commonly used, the 'when' is occasionally expressed by an interrogative adverb of time followed by a demonstrative one, e.g.,
 - (iv) Kan: nivu jāvāga Puņeyindu tirigi baruvirā āga avara bhetţi takolliri,

Eng: you when from Pune back come then visit him, i.e., when you come back from Poona visit him.

This is so to say an imitation of Sanskrit yadā 'when' and its correlative tadā 'then'. (Ibid. S. 329.)

"It might appear as if there existed relative pronouns and their correlatives in Kannada (as in Sanskrit). That such an appearance is not based upon idiom has been indicated in S. 267, though in English the instances given there, would naturally suggest the existence of relatives and their correlatives, e.g., 'who—he', 'who—she'. However the pronouns resembling relative ones are interrogatives, and the correlatives are demonstratives, and therefore the instances quoted in section 267 and some additional ones in this paragraph are literally to be translated as follows:—

- (v) Kan: Dhanamullan Guan? avanë indra?
 - Eng: who (is) a rich man? he indeed is (a) prince i.e., A rich man is a prince indeed.
- (vi) Kan : @val palivrate? avale monye,
 - Eng: who (is) a faithful wife? she indeed (is) venerable.
- (vii) Kan: yövanu satköryagalannu möduvanö? avanu sukha padutröns.

Eng: who virtuous actions does perform? he (is) happy,

Such instances appear to have originally been formed in imitation of Sanskrit ones with the relative yad, yavat, yathā and their correlatives tad, tāca, tathā. (Ibid, S. 330.)

Dr. Kittel is incorrect in supposing that the particle δ in the modern examples ii, iii, iv, and vii is a letter of questioning. The real interrogative force lies in the pronouns δvan , $y\delta vadu$, $y\delta vanu$, $y\delta vaga$, δval and, as has already been pointed out in (b) above, the use of δ in the modern examples is to indicate that no question is asked,

Further, there is no point in saying that the Kanarese examples are all interrogative constructions, for the Vedic examples given above are practically interrogative constructions though the pronouns used are from the relative stem yil-; and it is in consequence of this practical identity that several Indo-European languages have discontinued the yil-stem and use interrogative pronouns instead, thereby effecting a simplification by getting rid of unnecessary forms. In many Scythian languages also the same pronoun serves as an interrogative and a relative. The remarks that "the pronouns resembling relative ones are interrogatives, and the correlatives are demonstratives "1 applies equally well to modern English.

Dr. Kittel himself admits that the sentences* he has given to illustrate relative constructions in Kanarese "appear to have originally been formed in imitation of the Sanskrit ones with the relatives yad, yāvat, yathā and the correlatives tad, tāvat, tathā". The imitation goes back to the oldest specimens of the language which have come down to us, the change in the modern times merely consisting in the addition of the particle ā to distinguish a relative construction from the interrogative. Formerly the relative construction appears to have been indistinguishable from the interrogative in Kanarese.

Dr. Kittel does not see that the imitation referred to by him is not confined to mere method but involves also imitation and borrowal of materials (S. 41). The Sanskrit pronominal form yavant which now means 'how much '(relative) originally meant 'which like' or 'whatlike' (W. S.G.S. 517); the masculine nominative singular of yavant³ is yavan in Sanskrit and there is an indeclinable yavan in Pāli. It is from the assumed base yava of these forms, which also exists as an independent word in Pāli, and from its corruption ava that the Kanarese pronouns appear to be formed. Avan,

¹ In the Dravidian languages the demonstrative pronouns are the same as those of the third person.

He has given over twenty-five sentences of which only seven have been reproduced above.

Corruptions of parant in the forms javan, jav

dvan and ydvanu ydvavanu contain masculine suffixes imitated from Aryan (S. 51); the feminine forms dval, ydvalu contain a feminine suffix derived from Aryan (S. 52); the neuter forms dvadu, dvavu, ydvadu, ydvavu are formed by affixing udu, uvu, adu, avu, all of Aryan affinities (S. 63) to the bases dva and ydva. Dr. Kittel calls the clauses containing these imitations interrogative forms. Quite so; the forms are interrogative in the same sense in which 'who 'and 'which 'are interrogatives in English. They are both interrogative and relative.

71-A. DRAVIDIAN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS ARE ALSO RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The above discussion shows:

- i. that the interrogative pronouns in the cultivated Dravidian languages (as in many Scythian and several Indo-European languages) are also relative pronouns, i.e., that they are what the Telugu grammarians call jut-kim-arthakamu *relative-interrogative*.
- ii. that they are imitations of the Sanskrit relative pronouns, derived from the base 3d-, which look so like interrogatives in their use in the latter Vedic literature.
- iii. If the cultivated Dravidian languages had separate interrogatives formerly we must suppose that these have been completely superseded by the relative interrogative forms derived from Aryan.

71-B. DRAVIDIAN INTERROGATIVES BASES AND THEIR PRO-BABLE INDO-ARYAN ORIGINALS.

We shall now briefly enumerate the various developments and modifications which the original Indo-Aryan relative base underwent on Indian soil and indicate how the Dravidian relative-interrogative bases are traceable to them.

The root of the Indo-Aryan relative base is ya (m: yas, f: yal, n: yad), but in forming compounds the neuter stem yad is generally used. Professor Whitney says: "the use

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of yet as representative stem begins very early; we have yatkana in the Veda, and yatkarin, yaddevatya in the Brāhmava; later on grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: yatas, yati, yatra, yathā, yadā, yadā, yathi, yāvant, yatara, yatama; and the compound yādriś" (W. S. S. 510). In yāvant 'which like' (original meaning) and yādrś 'which like' the pronominal root ya is lengthened.

In Pali¹ we have the adverbial forms yang and yavam with the modern meanings of 'until, while, as long as'.

71-C. A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE THEORY IN REGARD TO THE ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIAN INTERROGATIVE FORMS.

It is also possible to conceive of the Dravidian interrogative bases as having arisen from the Aryan interrogative root k combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. The neuter interrogative form in Sanskrit is kim and the Sanskrit pronoun of quantity kiyat was kivat in the Vedas formed in the same manner as tâvat and yāvat. In modern Hindi the neuter interrogative is kyā. In all these cases the interrogative letter k is combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. It is possible that the contiguity of these palatals palatalized the root letter itself which becoming weakened into c and x was ultimately lost. We saw already that the Skt. kymi' ant' (Lith. kirmi) became *cirma, cima' an ant' in Telugu and irumpu, irumu, crumpu, etc., in the other Dravidian languages of Southern India through the palatalization and ultimate loss of k.

In the Avesta there are in addition to the k forms special forms of the interrogative beginning with the palatal c:—ci *who ', cid *which ', cati *how much ' (l. A. V. S. 407, K. A. V. Ss. 228, 229).

^{1.} Childer's Pali Dictionary.

"Guzerati has" in addition to the k forms, "a unique interrogative (masculine) 20 (fem.) si and (neut.) sum the only approach to which is the Sindhi a used only as a neuter" (B. A. G. Vol. II, page 324).

It is therefore possible that in the language of the Indo-Aryans who emigrated into South India in pre-historic times three were interrogative bases of which the initial was ky, c or s and that this consonant was weakened into y. Whether the initial of the earliest Dravidian interrogatives arose in this manner or was merely imitated from the Indo-Iranian relative base ya there seems to be no doubt, as will have been seem from section (b) above, that the Dravidian interrogative bases are derived from four different yā-van, ya-d, yā-va, ya which have the same suffixes as the Sanskrit tā-van, ta-d and the Prākṛt tāva, tā.

Sütra IV-5 of Vararuci's Prākṛta Prakāśa says that the sa of the words yāvat, tāvat, etc., is elided in Prākṛt and sūtra IV-6 says that the final non-conjunct consonant of words is also elided; but as by that time (1st century B.C.) the initial y-had also become j- (II-31) the actual Prākṛt forms of yāvat (the relative pronoun of quantity) in Vararuci's time were jā, jāva. An earlier form of jāva is the Pāli yāva; it is reasonable to assume that jā tood had an earlier form *yā.

The later forms of ja, jdra in Prakrt were je, jena, jena* (H.G.G.Ss. 438-1).

In several modern Aryan vernaculars of India the direct singulars of the relative pronoun have the forms ye, je, jewan, jaun, jau, jo (H.G.G. Ss. 437-4).

Vararuci II-31, Adör yö jah. IV-5, yövadödön vasya IV-6, Antyahalah.

M, also appears in the other pronominal forms êms, têms, kêms.

SEC. 71-C] ALTERNATIVE ORIGIN OF INTEREOGATIVE

Pronominal adjectival compounds with the suffix "bant," conveying the meaning of 'after the manner of, like 'were freely formed in the older language, e.g., māvant 'like me,' toāvant 'like thee,' yaṣmāvant 'like you,' tvant 'like this,' kāvant 'like what,' tāvant 'like that,' elāvant 'like this,' yāvant 'which like' (relative); and that of these only the last three were in use in the later languages in the sense of 'so much,' 'how much' (W.S.G. Ss. 517, 1233-f).

The forms tāva, yāva, yāvam of Pāli, tā, tāva, jā, jāva of the literary Prākṛts dealt with in Vararuci's Grammar (IV-5-6) have only the later senses of tāntus and quāntus. There is however reason to think that the older meanings of 'like that' and 'which like' must have persisted down to modern times in the popular dialects, for as noted above the forms jāva, javan, jaun, etc., are now used in some of the Aryan vernaculars of India as simple relative pronouns—which use is apparently derived from the sense 'which like'.

We may compare also the Telugu forms minanti 'like me,' minanti 'like you,' afwanti 'like that', itwanti 'like this,' etwanti 'what like' where the suffix 'vant' in the sense of 'like' is preserved.

- (i) The Sanskrit masculine singular ending a when adopted in Tamil originally indicated only the singular number and was common to all the three natural genders. The Sanskrit masculine yanda appears to have been one of the earliest relative-interrogative forms adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages and seems to be the original of the Kanarese interrogative pronouns and, as common to all the three genders (K. K. G. Ss. 102-b, and 125) and of the genderless Old Tamil even which has become on in modern times.
- (ii) The interrogative e which appears initially in composition as in Tamil eppear 'what name,' eventing

'what place,' emmanitan 'what man' and in Malayalam ekkülam' what time,' surannam 'what manner' has apparently arisen from the imitation of such compounds and combinations as yatkāma 'having which desire,' yatkāraṇam 'wherefore', yatkakham 'which pleasure,' yatdahkham 'which grief,' etc., which would come to be pronounced ekkāma, ekkāranam, eccukam, ettukkam in Tamil and Malayālam. This e is another of the carliest relative interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages.

(iii) The Tamil Malayalam forms yavan, yaval, yavar, ravai, and the Kanarese yava, yavam, yavavanu, yavalu, yavadu, yavanu, yavanu are apparently derived from the old Indo-Aryan base yava.

The Kanarese base dea and the derivatives area etc., are derivable from your by the clision of the initial y, as in your 'I' which has become day.

The Kanarese forms with the initial d- are derivable from the Prakrt bases ja, java, the initial of which has become d-; these must have come in later than the forms with initial y-.

The Tamil Malayalam forms ēvas, ēval etc., and the Telugu ēvi must have arisen from the weakening of the initial you into ē.

In the forms evan, eval, etc., evadu, evanu, etc., the initial & has been shortened.

The theory of Bishop Caldwell and Dr. Kittel that the p of the above forms is intervocal is untenable,

(iv) The assumed old Indo-Aryan pd corresponding to the Prākṛtic jā of Vararuci appears to be the original of the interrogative pā of Tamil and Kanarese, the interrogative ≥ of Malayāļam, Kanarese and Telugu, the interrogative ā of Kanarese and the interrogative dā of Tuļu.

SEC. 72] MISCELLANEOUS RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

It is also the base of the Tamil yūtu 'which, what?' which became ētu, etu later in Tamil, Tehugu ēdi, edi are traceable to the same base; as also yūr, ūr 'who' of Tamil, Malayāļam and Kanarese, yēr of Tuļu, and dēr of Brāhūī. The Kurukh and Malto interrogative nē can also be derived from the assumed Indo-Aryan yū as initial y- often changes into nin Dravidian. Of. Dravidian yūŋ 'I,' Sanskrit yama 'God of death,' yuga 'yoke' which have become nan; (Tehugu nēnu) namen and nukam in Tamil.

72. Miscellaneous Dravidian Relative Constructions.

(a) The particle o.

Several instances have been given already of relative constructions with the particle σ .

Old Kanarese: avan adhika pun yan avanê sêvyam.

Modern Kanarese: yavano adhika pun yan -ō avanê sevyanu.

Tehngu: eva du adhika pun yamugalava do vo de senpu du.

Tamil : evan atika pun 3am ullovan-a avan e cevikkattakkavan.

English: who (is) a very righteous man he indeed (alone?)
(is) venerable.

The construction is the same in all the three languages and is an imitation of the Vedic relative construction, the particle a indicating that the construction is relative, not interrogative,

Sometimes the relative-interrogative pronoun is placed immediately before this o, e.g. :-

Kanarese : adhika pun yan yangano avané sényanu.

Telugu : adhika pun yamugalava du eva 40 va de sevyu du.

Tamil : atika pun yamullavan evano avane cevikkattakkavan.

English: a very righteous man who (is) he indeed (is)

These may be compared with the construction in the following Tamil verse—the very first in the Tiruvaymoli of the Vaisnava saint Nammajyar.

- Tamil: garrara uyumalam ufaiyarati yarati avati.
 English: unsurpassed goodness possessor who his (of him).
- Tamil: mayarcagu matinalam analigan yacan aven.
 English: illusionless good intellect bestower who his (of him).
- Tamil: graverum amararkal atiputi yavan avan.
 English: sleepless immortal gods sovereign who his (of him).
- Tamil: tuyararu cufararafi tolutelu en mananë.
 English: sorrow dispelling shining feet venerate my mind.

(Free Translation).

Oh my mind! venerate the sorrow dispelling fret of Him who possesses unsurpassed goodness, who bestows illusionless intellects (on his worshippers), and who is the sovereign of the sleepless (unwinking) immortal gods.

The commentators explain that yaves in the above verse is not an interrogative but a relative.

We have seen that the far demonstrative base as a becomes o "he" as in Madras Gondi ondu "he," Gondi or "he," Kui o anju "he," etc. In Malayāļam or, of are alternative forms of avar, avai.

Might it be that the particles in the relative constructions noted above was originally the genderless correlative ara, and that scano, scalo, scaro, etc., are contracted forms of enagers, scalars, scarars, etc., corresponding to the English 'who so.' The fact that this e is re-inforced by a second correlative indicating gender and number is not an insuper-

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able objection to this etymology as the o has latterly been mistaken for an interrogative particle,

(b) Another form of relative construction uses the particle e, e.g.

Tamil : Nerru vantane aran ingaikkum vantan. Telugu: Ninna vaccina de va du de outuala vaccinoda.

English: yesterday came who he to-day also came.

It looks as if the s here was originally the relativeinterrogative 34, common to all genders and numbers, and that e-avan, e-aval, etc., correspond to the English who he, who she, etc.

(c) The relative participles.

This is the name given by European grammarians to certain participles in the Dravidian languages which qualify notice and are therefore called pepar eccess in Tamil. There is a participle corresponding to each tense form as follows :-

Kanazere. Telugu. Tamil Estda eduint. Pant : ceyta" that did " kaffina * that showed * co suttenna Present : arkira' that does" that will do ' somma Future : cryptes " doing" or cigun.

The majority of these are obtained by adding the particle a to the old non-pronominalized tense forms; where the nonpronominalized forms still continue to be used as tenses, as in the Tamil agrees and the Telugu areas, no such addition is nucic.

Bishop Caldwell enters into a long disquisition as to the origin of the suffixed a and comes to the conclusion that it is the sign of the possessive case ! Dr. Gundert on the other hand appears to have been of opinion that the suffixed a was the same as the demonstrative base a (C.D.G., pages 411-414).

Dr. Gundert's view seems to be the correct one. As in Dravidian the subject of the action is tacked on to the verb-form and becomes enclitic thereto and as we have seen that in the Dravidian the same words are used to denote the correlative, the demonstrative and the third personal pronouns, it would seem correct to regard the suffixed a as the subject of the action expressed in the relative participles; in other words, the suffixed a of the relative participles should be regarded as corresponding to 'that' in the relative clauses 'that did,' 'that showed,' 'that does ' in the paradigm above. If this view be correct the suffixed a will be the same -av the old demonstrative base which had lost its final -v; in Tolkāppiyam several verb-forms occur ending in -av which now end in -a.

It will be noted that the double use of ap- in Dravidian as a demonstrative and as a relative corresponds to the double use of that in the same two senses in English. Ac in Dravidian is also the base of the pronouns of the third person.

It may also be remarked in passing that without any addition for number or gender av is itself the pronoun of the third person in the neuter plural in Tamil. The original neuter plural forms must have been inuntanar they (neuter) were pokingagar they (neuter) are going, etc.; these have now lost the final -e1 and exist inuntana, pokingaga etc., as if the neuter plural termination was merely a. This has led Bishop Caldwell into supposing that the Dravidian languages resemble Latin in having a neuter plural in short a (C. D. G. Introduction, page 70).

Tol. Col. 2: wartinaiyaw v è for the modern wartiniaya wê 'they belong the rational caste'.

Tol. Col. 3: ahrinaiyas v & for the modern ahrinaiya v & they belong to the irrational caste .

73. SUMMARY AND CONGLUSION.

The supposed Dravidian Characteristics in Indo-Aryan are really Aryan Characteristics in the Dravidian,

We shall now proceed to summarise the results of the discussion of the various items in which the Dravidian languages are alleged to have affected Indo-Aryan speeches,

First in regard to vocabulary, it is well known that only about a fourth of the roots in Sanskrit can be traced in one or more of the other languages belonging to the Indo-Germanic group. Some scholars seem to hold that every root of the remaining three-fourths which Sanskrit has in common with Dravidian languages must have been borrowed by it from a Dravidian tongue, the contention being that though Dravidian languages are now spoken only in the South of the Peninsula there are reasons to believe that these languages were spoken at one time throughout the continent. of India and that Indo-Aryan must have been in contact with Dravidian almost from the time of the arrival of the Aryans in India. On this supposition it is equally possible that the Dravidian languages might have borrowed the words from the Indo-Aryan and we saw in the last chapter that South Indian products such as rice, black pepper, ginger, etc., bear in South India names which have travelled southwards after the arrival of the Aryans in India and which are derived by curtailment from fuller forms found in Sanskrit.

The theory that the Dravidian languages were once spoken throughout India rests on premises which are more than doubtful and can be disproved in some cases. It is argued in support of this theory that there are certain peculiarities in Dravidian forms of speech which are not found generally in the Indo-Germanic group but which have been acquired by Sanskrit on Indian soil, and that this shows that there must have been formerly in use in the northern parts of India languages similar to the Dravidian languages spoken in South India at the present day. The chief peculiarities thus acquired are stated to be:—

- r. The adoption of the cerebral series of letters by Sanskrit.
- The use of participles for tense forms and a continued increase in the use of conjunctive participles in subordinate sentences,
- 3. The formation of the periphrastic future from present tense forms and of the active past participle from passive participles, and various other minor changes detailed by Professor Sten Konow in Vol. IV of the Linguistic Survey of India.
- i. Cerebral letters.—The argument under this head appears to be due to a want of knowledge of the true phonology of the Dravidian languages. For, if cerebral sounds are a special feature of the Dravidian languages, alveolar or semi-dental sounds were an equally special feature which persisted in these languages long after Sanskrit had converted its alveolars into dentals and cerebrals and still persist in Tamil and Malayāļam. This shows some foreign influence which has acted on Sanskrit and the Dravidian alike, not necessarily Dravidian influence on Sanskrit.
- The use of participles for tense forms and of uninflected participles in subordinate clauses is a necessary preliminary step in the process of evolution from the synthetic to the analytic stage and need not necessarily be in imitation of Dravidian.
- The periphrastic future and the active past participle were inherited by Sanskrit from the Indo-Iranian period and were not evolved by it on Indian soil.

- 4- In regard to the change in the syntactical order of words it is obvious that when a synthetic inflected language drops its inflections and becomes analytical some convention is necessary as to the order of words for the purpose of avoiding ambiguity, and a change in the method of declension by prepositions into one declension by post-positions may lead to the complete reversal of the order of words in a sentence. In declining nouns by post-positions and in rendering pronouns enclitic to verbforms Indo-Aryan vernaculars and Dravidian both follow the Indo-Iranian system.
- The loss of the subjunctive mood and of any infinitive forms in Sanskrit cannot possibly be due to Dravidian influence.

But these considerations become of minor importance in view of the deep-scated affinities, amounting in most cases to identities, between the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns of Sanskrit and of the Dravidian languages,

- (a) The adoption of y, l as the masculine and feminine signs, the replacement of the latter by di in the Andhra group, the adoption of ηdu, εju, m, s as the signs of the masculine nominative singulars in imitation of Präkṛtic terminations and the adoptions of t as the oblique declensional sign all of which have arisen from the Indo-Germanic nt are inconsistent with the assumption that Dravidian Grammar has not been affected by Indo-Aryan forms of speech.
- (b) Even granting that the Dravidian interrogative base ye has no connection with the Aryan relative base ye it cannot be denied that the formations yavet, yave, ya and yed out of these bases are the same in both groups of languages and that the first three of these formations contain the Indo-Iranian vent and the Indo-Germanic nt. The

formation yavan in the sense of 'what like 'which has given rise to the genderless evan, en of Tamil goes back to the oldest of the Vedic period while yat corresponding to the interrogative e of Dravidian is also old; while yava, java and ja are found in some very old Präkṛts. These fact show that the imitation of Aryan forms began even in the oldest Vedic period.

(c) In regard to the demonstrative pronouns the Aryan bases ud and ava are of Indo-Germanic antiquity while ad and im have been in existence since the Indo-Iranian period; the base ava is of exceedingly rare occurrence in the Vedas. Here some of the imitations by the Dravidian must have been from the pro-Vedic period.

Thus if we begin by supposing that the people of South India were originally speaking a group of non-Aryan languages we must,—to explain the borrowings noted in (a), (b), and (c) above —also assume that there emigrated into South India a large body of Aryans or of Aryanised people who must have separated from the main body of Aryans in the Vedic period when these Aryans were still in the Panjab and other portions of north-western India. This is also what, as we saw in the last chapter, was indicated by the general use in South India of names derived from the very old words with, nicāra, šuṣka and śmgabēra, the representatives of which are now but rarely met with in other parts of India.

That some of the oldest of these immigrants into Southern India must have come from North-West is specifically indicated by some north-western characteristics found in the Tamil vocabulary, as will be shown later on.

74. Reasons for limiting the scope of the work to the cultivated dravidian languages.

It occasionally happens that when we meet two persons, son and father, of strikingly similar features and apparently

of the same age, we mistake the son for the father. This is exactly what has happened in the case of some Dravidian scholars who have thought that Sanskrit has imitated Dravidian. This is no doubt due in part to not noting that the Sanskrit forms must have been inherited from the Indo-Iranian period, but mainly to the assumption that the present Dravidian forms have been in use from time immemorial. The influences which to our knowledge have acted on the evolution of the Dravidian languages are such as to render this assumption highly improbable. These languages have been under the influence of Aryan dialects representing a higher culture and civilization for at least twenty or twentyfive centuries, and many Dravidian races have abandoned their mother tongues and adopted Aryan dialects; while many of the remaining indigenous languages are being rapidly arvanised. In this struggle for existence the dialects that will offer the greatest resistence to change will be those that have a literature and grammatical standard; but we have seen above in the case of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns that even Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese are not above imitating Aryan models. Again the present tense suffixes in Tamil-Malayalam are not the same as those of Kanurese and Telugu. None of the three future tense suffixes in Telugu is found in Tamil or Kanarese, while not one of the four past tense suffixes in Telugu corresponds to the Kanarese past suffix. If these languages belong tothe same family, was there not some uniformity originally in these essential forms? What were the external influences. that destroyed the original uniformity, if there was one, and produced these extensive changes? The Dravidian problem cannot be fully grasped unless we satisfactorily answer these questions.

The uncultivated Dravidian languages which have no known history will not be of much use in a historical treatment of the question. It is no doubt true that in many rude languages we often find idioms preserved, which throw light on the abraded forms of cultivated speeches. Thus the language of the Nilgiri Badagas who have remained isolated from the plains now for several centuries shows a literary condition corresponding in several respects with archaic Kanarese and the evidence furnished by it may be utilised in tracing the evolution of Kanarese forms. But this is a rare instance of a dialect isolated on a hill top and free from extraneous influences for centuries. Can the same be said of the majority of uncultivated speeches like Gondi. Gölari and Burgandi instanced already which are surrounded and interpenetrated by Aryan dialects and which are ful of flux and change and are fast dying out. There is no guarantee in the case of these languages that any peculiar form possessed by them r.g., a -k- suffix for the past tense, or a -t- suffix for the present, is not a recent acquisition and to make use of such forms without a knowledge of their past history may lead to fallacious results.

It is therefore proposed in the following pages to confine attention to such Dravidian languages as have been cultivated and possess literatures, viz., Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu, and to determine with the help of their literatures and inscriptions what grammatical forms were in use in them in the earliest period of their development. A comparison with the present grammatical forms will show what changes have taken place in them since that pro-Dravidian period and how these changes have been brought about. It is also necessary to know what Aryan languages were spoken in their neighbourhood prior to or during the time which corresponds to the pro-Dravidian period and what antiquity must be assigned to the literatures of these languages and the inscriptions written in them.

Before proceeding to enumerate the suffixes in use in the various Dravidian languages, it is proposed to describe briefly the earliest specimens of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speeches that have come down to us either in the form of inscriptions or of literature and to determine what antiquity should be assigned to them. This description is not intended to be exhaustive as the object in referring to these specimens here is solely for the purpose of determining which are earlier, the Dravidian specimens or the Indo-Arvan specimens. When the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan suffixes indicating the same tense or mood and having identical signification happen to have similar forms also, it may be sometimes doubtful whether Sanskrit borrowed from Dravidian or Dravidian borrowed from Sanskrit, If in such a contingency it can be established that Sanskrit has inherited the forms and has not evolved them on Indian soil, this will preclude the supposition that it has borrowed the forms from Dravidian. This point will be kept prominently in view and it will be noted in all such doubtful cases if the form existed in the Avestic language also,

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CHAPTER IV.

ARYAN LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

75. THE AGE OF THE VEDAS.

When the Vedic Aryans first entered India they were no doubt divided into a number of clans speaking different but closely allied dialects. The Rg. Veda is the collection of the sacred hymns of these clans; but as the hymns show few easily recognizable traces of dialectal differences it is supposed by some scholars that they have undergone a process of editing at the hands of those who complied them into their present arrangement, and that to this extent the language of Vedas must have deviated from the then spoken dialects. However this may be, the Vedas are the nearest approach that we have to the popular Aryan speech of their time.

There are irreconcilable differences of opinion among scholars in regard to the age of Vedas and in regard to the time of composition of many works in Sanskrit and Prakrt. Whatever date one may choose as the date of any particular work, it is sure to be opposed to the views of some eminent scholar or another. In order to settle the relative priority of Aryan and Dravidian forms, it is very necessary that some rough estimate should be formed of the time when certain Aryan dialects which might have influenced Dravidian languages were actually in use as the spoken languages of the Aryan immigrants. The following summary of the divergent views held by scholars on this question, though far from exhaustive, will be useful in the formation of such an estimate in regard to the age of the Vedas and of some other literatures that have come down to us from antiquity. Classical, Sanskrit with its rigid grammatical rules is excluded from

consideration here as it does not appear to have been the speech of the common people at any time.

LINGUISTIC ESTIMATES.

The Vedic period is divided by orientalists into several literary strata:—

- (a) the age of the Chandar,
- (b) the age of the Mantras when the hymns and prayers of the Sainhitās were composed,
- (c) the age of the Brāhmanas when the sacrificial ceremonial was elaborated; this age includes in its later phases the age of the Āranyakas and of the Upanişads; and
 - (d) the period of the Sütras.

The lower limit of even the latest phase of the Brahmana period cannot be fixed later than 500 B. C., for even the latest Upanisad doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism. Starting from this lower limit and allowing appropriate durations for the various minor layers of the Vedic literature estimates have been made of the time of composition of the carliest Vedic hymns. In this way Professor Max Muller arrived at 1200 B.C. as the date of composition of the Rg. Veda, Professor Weber's etsimate was 1500 B.C., while that of Dr. M. Hang was 2400-2000 B.C. In his History of Sanskrit Literature (1905) Prof. A. A. Macdonnell put the beginning of the Vedic age at 1500 B. C. and deprecated the tendency of some scholars to regard 2000 B.C. as its. starting point, as he considered that such a huge period as 1500 years was not required "for a development of language and thought hardly greater than the difference between the Homeric, and the Attic age of Greece." More recently Professors A.A. Macdonnell and A. B. Keith have expressed the opinion that there is no cogent reason for fixing the dateof the Rg Veda earlier than 1200 B. C. (Vedic Index. 1912— Introduction).

75-A. BOGHAS KOI AND TELL-EL-OMMERNA CLAY TABLETS.

In 1907 some excavations at Boghas Koi in Asia Minor brought to light a treaty of the 14th Century B. C. between the King of the Hittates and the king of Mitani in which the deities of both these nations are invoked and Hugo Winkler found among the Mitani gods the names of Mitra, Varuna Indra and Nasatya. It appears from an article contributed by Dr. A. B. Keith to the Bhandarkar commemoration volume (1917 pp. 98-9) that H. Jacobi and Moulton consider the deities named above to be Indian deities brought to Northern Mesopotamia by an East Iranian tribe, but that Oldenberg takes the gods to be proto-Iranian while E. Meyer regards them as Aryan, i.e., as pertaining to the period when the Indo-Iranians were living as one race. The view of Jacobi and Moulton of course implies that the Vedic pantheon was fully developed in that 14th century B. C. and that the beginnings of the Vedic culture must be placed earlier than this by several centuries. Dr. Keith inclines to the view that the names of the gods belong to some dialect of Western Aryan origin differing from both Iranian and Vedic.

Among subsequent contributions on the subject are the papers by Prof. Sten Konow on the Aryan Gods of the Mitani people (1921) summarised by K. P. Jayaswal in the Modern Review and an article by the late Prof. P. D. Gune in the Journal of the Iranian Association (1921, June). Prof. Sten Konow thinks that the Gods are Indian and Prof. Gune says that the names of the Gods have a decidedly Indian ring.

75-B. ASTRONOMICAL ESTIMATES.

Various attempts have been made to determine the time of the Vedas from references to astral positions which enable us to locate the equinoctial and the solstitial points of their epochs in particular asterisms. Vedänga Jyotisa says that the five-year Tuga of the Vedic calendar begins on the winter solstice day when the sun and the moon ascend the sky together with the Siravisthäs. It is admitted on all hands that this position of the solstice would have occurred about 1200 or 1100 B.C.

The Kauşitaki Brāhmana refers to the winter solstice as taking place on Māgha Amāvāsyā, and according to a calculation made by Dr. G. Thibaut in 1894 this position of the solstice would have occurred at about 1200 B.C.—the same as the time of composition of the Vedānga Jyotişa (I.A., Vol. XXIV, pp. 85 to 100); but the calculation appears to be open to question as Dr. Thibaut following some commentary of Vināyaka takes the Amāvāsyā of Māgha to mean the new moon preceding the full moon of Māgha. But accepting the age of the Kauṣṣtaki Brāhmana to be 1200 B.C., the age of the Vedic hymns must be put several centuries earlier. Dr. Thibaut himself put it at 1800 B.C. (Hindustan Review, January, 1904).

The late S. B. Dixit first drew attention to a passage in the Satapatha Brähmana which describes the Kṛttikās as never swerving from the east. This position of the astorism at one of the equinoctial points appears to be in conformity with the scheme of the Taittirīya Brāhmana which designates the nakṣatrar as devanakṣatras and yamanakṣatras according as they lie north or south of the equator, the former headed by the Kṛttikās revolving south (in the northern hemisphere) dakṣinena pariyanti and the latter headed by anūrūdhās revolving north (in the southern hemisphere) uttarena pariyanti. This position of the Kṛttikās will have occurred in the 3rd millenium B.C.; if this period is granted for the Brāhmanas the age of the Vedas will approximate to 3000 B.C.

Some European and American orientalists have persistently refused to accept such early dates for the Brähmanas and the Vedas. Some of the arguments which, though repeatedly refuted, are adduced even now against those dates, are that the Brähmana passages relied upon are not capable of the interpretation put upon them, and that the Kṛttikā series of asterisms may have been borrowed late from Assyria, China, Arabia or some other country.

In 1915 Mr. B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, M. A. of Pudukkotta prepared for the Oxford Congress 1915 (which did not, however, come off owing to the world war) a paper reviewing in some detail the previous discussions on the subject of the age of the Brahmanas. This paper, apparently considerably enlarged, was afterwards sent to the First Oriental Conference, Poona (1919) and has been published in Vol. XII (1922-221) of the Mythic Society's Journal, Bangalore. The main argument in the paper is that the position of the winter solstice as referred to in the Kausitaki was not, as argued, by Thibaut, the same as the position described in the Vedanga Jyotisa, but corresponded with the equinoctial position of the Krttikas implied in the Satapatha and the Taittiriya Brahmanas and that the age of the Brahmanas must therefore be put back to 2000-2300 B.C.

It is unnecessary to refer to the speculations of Lokamanya B. G. Tilak (Orion) and of H. Jacobi (LA. Vol. XXIII) in regard to Vedic passages alleged to contain reminiscences of still earlier positions of the equinoxes and the solstices, as it does not necessarily follow from such reminiscences that any portion of the Vedas had been composed in those very early times. These speculations though warmly welcomed by Buhler and Bloomfield met with strong adverse criticism from Whitney and Thibaut (LA., Vol. XXIII, pp. 154-9, pp. 238-49, Vol. XXIV pp. 85-100, 361-69).

The unwillingness to admit a very great antiquity for the Vedic culture will become intelligible when we recollect the views of scholars engaged in connected departments of knowledge. The philologist draws attention to the practical identity of the Vedic idiom and the idiom of the Gāthās and to the circumstances that the Iranian tradition does not claim any very great antiquity for the Avestic literature. Some archaeologists are of opinion that it is not necessary to place the Indo-Germanic period earlier than 3000 B.C. or even 2000 B.C.

It will thus be clear that the lowest estimate given by any scholar for the age of the Vedic dialects is 1200 B.C. and the hgiest 3000 B.C. In view of this conflict of opinions it will be safe to assume 2000 to 1500 B.C. as the date when the Vedic dialects were actually spoken on Indian soil. This is slightly less than the 4000 years tacitly assumed by Sir G. A. Grierson for the evolution of modern Guzarati from the Vedic dialects (L.S., Vol. IX, part II pp. 386-7).

76. THE SECONDARY PRAKETS.

(a) Pali.—The inflectional Vedic dialects became corrupted in course of time into the Prākṛts and the Apabhramṣas which are sometimes referred to collectively as the Middle Indian dialects; these latter are called by some scholars Secondary Prākṛts—the Vedic dialects themselves being the Primary Prākṛts. The Secondary Prākṛts were still synthetic in character but the modern Aryan vernaculars evolved out of them that is, the Tertiary Prākṛts, are wholly analytical; these last are supposed to have taken their present shape about 1000 A.D.

Of the Secondary Prakris the first to come to notice was a dialect of Magadha in which the Buddha preached his gospel to the people; but none of the early Buddhistic literature composed in this dialect appears to have come down to us. Literary Pāli which became the sacred idiom of Southern Buddhism appears to be an artificail mixed form of speech having Māgadhī as its basis. Some scholars have held that it developed in the Andhra country while others think that it was perfected in the North West and shows strong affinity to Paiśācī (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume 1917, pp. 117, et seq.)

Of the Buddhistic works in, Pāli the Tripiţaksa in their present form are supposed to have been composed in the 1st century B. C. while the Dhammapada and the jātakas did not take their present shape till the 5th century A.D. Though composed so late, those works show a literary condition earlier in many respects than that of the Aśoka inscriptions of the 3rd century B. C.; they were obviously composed in an artificial sacred language which had long ceased to be spoken by the people. The prose portions of the Jātakas, written in a free narrative style untrammelled by limitations of poetic composition show perhaps more traits of the original popular speech of the 5th century B.C. than the poetical portions of the above works, and give us an idea to what extent the Vedic dialects had become disintegrated by the time of the Buddha.

(b) Aśoka Inscriptions.—The earliest contemporaneous specimens that we have of a spoken Secondary Prākṛt are undoubtedly to be found in the inscriptions of Aśoka which belong to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. These inscriptions presented many difficulties of decipherment and interpretation, most of which have now been overcome by the labours chiefly of European Orientalists; the results of these labours have been made available to Indian students in the pages of the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. The language of the inscriptions shows many local variations, but the ground-work is throughout Māgadhī, the Courtlanguage, which apparently was understood in all partsof Aśoka's empire from Afghanistan to Orissa and from the Himālayas to Mysore. The inscriptions are older by several centuries than the oldest Dravidian literature or inscriptions that have come down to us; and one of the suggestions in this book is that in cases where the grammatical terminations in the Aśokic forms are inherited from the Indo-Germanic or the Indo-Iranian period, these terminations may be regarded as the models or the originals of the identical Dravidian terminations. As there is no recognized grammar for Aśoka forms or readily available lists of them, the most noteworthy of them are noted down here for convenience of reference.

(a) In the Vedic and the Avestic dialects the use of the interposed p in the formation of casual bases is confined to d stems; but in the Aşoka inscriptions and the cave inscriptions of a later date the use of the interposed p occurs in other stems alsom as the following examples taken from the Rock Edicts I and II and the Häthigumphä inscription will show (Corpus: Inscript, Vol. I, pp. 65, 67, etc.)

likhapitā, pidāpayati, Kidāpayati, Kālāpitā, lopāpitā Khānāpitā, hārāpitāni, āharāpayati, from roots likh write, inscribe; pld affict; krid play; kr 'do'; rup raise'; khan 'dig'; hr, āhr 'bring, take.'

(b) There are about ten instances in the inscriptions of the use of what may be called indeclinable present participles which do not agree with the nouns they depend upon in number or gender. One instance is given here from Rock Edict No. XI. Shāhbaygarbī version:—

Ide karavo so tasha karatam iha loka ca aradhesi.

Sanskrit, Idam kartavyam sah tatha kurvan iha loke ca aradhayate.

(Corpus : Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 82).

The phrase heam of kalantam in the sense of by acting in this manner' occurs twice in the second separate Rock Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada: the phrase khane santam in the sense of 'when opportunity arises' occurs in the latter (I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 102).

(c) In the Vedic the conjunctive participles are formed by means of the suffixes tod, tol, ya and tya, the corrupt forms of these suffixes occurring in the inscriptions are tu, ti, ta, eya, ye, i.

Rock Edict. I., alabhitu, alabhiti, arabhit 'having seized' from root alabh (E.I. II, p. 448-9).

Rock Edict No. IV. dasayitu, dasayita, draśayitu, darśeti having shown ' from the causal form of root drs' ' see ':

tistitu, tistiti, cithitu, 'standing, having stood' from sthā 'stand' (1. A., Vol. XXI, pp. 13, 105; E.I. II, pp. 451-452).

Rock Edict No. X. paritijutu, palitiditu, paricajitu paricaji 'having abandoned' from paritraj (I. A. XXI, p. 13; E. I. II, pp. 459 and 460).

Rock Edict No. XIII. vijinitu, vijita 'having conquered' from root viji; frutu, sutu 'having heard' from śru 'hear' (I.A., Vol. XXI, p. 13; E.I. II, pp. 462-4).

Rock Edict No. XIV. alocavita, alocavita, alocati 'having considered' from root alee;

Samchēja, samkheje, samkhaje, sachēja 'having abridged' from the causal form of 'samksi.' (I.A., Vol. X, p. 272 XXI, pp. 8 and 13. E. I., II., pp. 465-6).

Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada.

jānitu 'having learnt or known' from jāā 'know';

katu 'having done,' from kr 'do';

vēditu 'having learnt', from vid 'know';

anusānitu 'having ordered or instructed' from anuśās 'instruct' (I.A., Vol. XIX, pp. 85, 87; XXI, p. 105),

Delhi Pillar Edict No. IV. nisiyitu 'having placed or entrusted' from the causal form of nişad' sit."

Delhi Pillar Edict Nos. VII and VIII. sutu 'having heard' (I.A., Vol. XIII pp. 308-9; XVIII pp. 4 and 306. E.I. II, pp. 252 and 269).

Bairat second Rock. adhigicya 'concerning' from adhiky concern, relate to' (I.A., Vol. XX, p. 166).

Paderia and Nigilva inscriptions. agaca 'having come' from aga or agam 'arrive' (E. I. V., pp. 4 and 6).

- (d) In the Girnar inscriptions the conjunct consonants to and to are written tp, thus indicating a dialectal variety of pronouncing them; (I.A. Vol. IX, p. 285). catharo, drabhited, hitathaya, tadathane, athapasamda—catharo, drabhited, hitathaya, tadatmane, atmapasanda.
- (e) Attention may also be drawn to the equivalence of the vocables an = 6 which Senart has established after an examination of a very large number of examples (I.A. Vol. IX, p. 283).

Dosam, hidam, nam, savatam, panam-dosa, hida, na, savata, pana.

(c) The Prakris.—It appears from the Asoka inscriptions that the then Aryan vernaculars of Northern India contained at least two main dialects, an Eastern and a Western Prakri. The principal form of the Western Prakri was Sauraseni, the language of the middle gangetic Doab and its neighbourhood, while that of the Eastern Prakri was Magadhi or the language of Magadha, the present South Behar. Between the two was Ardhamagadhi or half Magadhi which is supposed to have been the language in which Mahavira, the Jain apostle, preached to the people; this is the language of the scriptures of the Svetambara Jains. The dialect of

the Berars or the country adjoining was Māhārāṣṭrī which later became the language of Prākṛt poetry. In the North-west there must have been a fourth dialect which later was known as Paiṣācī. All that we know about these languages is founded on the literature in which they have survived and on the grammars written to illustrate that literature; but this literature cannot in many cases be considered as illustrating the actual vernaculars. (Grierson—L.S.)

- (d) Varauci's Prükṛta Prakūśa, traditionally referred to the 1st century B.C., deals with the grammars of Māhārāṣṭrī Māgadhī, Saurasenī and Paiśācī. This grammar is of great importance to the philologist as showing the corruptions which the original Sanskrit forms had undergone by the beginning of the Christian era. Hāla's Saptaṣatī, the earliest work that we have in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛt is not probably earlier than the 3rd century A.D., while Rāvanavaho and Gaudavaho must be a few centuries later. Māhārāṣṭrī is the language used by high class lady characters in plays, while Sanskrit is used by kings and other persons of high rauk. Saurasenī is usually found, it is said, in the prose passages of dramas, while Māgadhī, Paiṣācī and other dialects are used by inferior characters;
- (e) Canda's Prakria Laksanam.—This is also called the grammar of the Arsa Prakri, which many identify as Ardhamāgadhī, the language in which Mahāvīra conveyed his teachings. In the second century after Mahāvīra's death, there was a very severe famine in Magadha in consequence of which a portion of the Jain community is stated to have emigrated to the Karnāṭa country. During the absence of the emigrants, a council was held at Pāṭaliputra which collected the Jain canon consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas (—Sans. Pūrvas). There was subsequently a schism between the home-returned emigrants and the northern Jains, which was the foundation of the

great division between the Digambaras (naked) and the Svetämbaras (white robed). The former refused to acknowledge the canon established by the council at Pāṭaliputra; the Svetāmbara canon as we now have them are in Ardhamāgadhī and were reducted at a second council held at Valabhī in Gujarat under the presidency of Devardhigani in the year of 454 or 467 of the Christian era. (Hoernle's Uvāsagadasão Introduction.)

The language of these canonical works shows a much later literary condition than the Buddhist literary works in Pali, thus indicating that the language used by the reductors was of a later date than the standard Ardhamagadhi of the pre-Christian centuries.

The term Arşam is explained by Hemacandra as meaning belonging to the Rşis' and he adds that "in the Arşam Prākṛt every rule is deviated from and has its exceptions", which is the characteristic of a spoken as opposed to a literary dialect. However this may be, the language of the Svetāmbara canon is the only Prākṛt known to us besides that of the Aṣoka inscriptions which uses the conjunctive participle in these canonical works are also of interest to us as using the conjuntive participle suffixes yōnam and yōna which have also found their way into the Dravidian languages.

(f) Siddha Hemacandram. Hemacandra (1088-1172-A. D.) a native of north Gujarat wrote this grammar called after himself and after Srī Siddharāja his patron. The first seven Adhyāyas relate to Sanskrit while the eighth and the last Adhyāya treats of the following Prākrts which must all have ceased to be spoken dialects in Hemacandra's time except perhaps the last:—Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiṣācī, Cūlikapaiṣācī and Apabhrañṣā. Sir G.A. Grierson.

^{1.} Hemacandra I-3. commentary. "Rṣiṇām idamārṣam" is ārṣe hi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante."

says that the Apabharamsa dealt with by the grammarian was the Nagara form of the Saurasena Apabhramsa (L.S. IX, part II, p. 326). This grammar clears up several points which are left doubtful or but imperfectly dealt with in Vararuci.

77. THE MODERN ARYAN VERNACULARS OF INDIA.

The Linguistic Survey of India undertaken in connexion with the census of 1901 and edited by Sir G.A. Grierson deals exhaustively with each of these vernaculars. Several comparative grammars have also been written of these languages. Two of these which will be frequently referred to in the course of the present book are John Beames's Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan of India, and A.F.R. Hoernle's Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages.

Beames's grammar recognises and deals with seven main vernaculars:—(1) Hindī (2) Pañjābī (3) Sindhī (4) Gujarātī (5) Marāṭhī (6) Oriyā (7) Bengālī.

Hoernle's grammar breaks up Hindl into West Hindl and East Hindl each of these comprising several dialects and adds a ninth Maipäti which with its dialects is called the North Gaud. The Maräthl language constitutes the South Gaud, Bengāll, Oriyā and East Hindl constitute the East Gaud; while West Hindl, Panjābi, Sindhi and Gujārāti comprise the West Gaud.

The Linguistic Survey divides the Old Secondary Präkrts into two groups Inner and Outer, the Outer group comprising Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Māgadhī and the single Saurasent forming the Inner group. The classification of the vernaculars derived from the Secondary Prākṛts is as follows:—

Eastern group : Bengālī, Assamese ; BihārīOriy i.

Mediate group ; Eastern Hindi.

Southern group : Marathi.

North-Western group: Sindhi, Lahnda, Dradic or Paiśaci,

Central group : Western Hindt, Pañjābī, Rājatshānī, Gujarātī ; Bhīlī, Pahārī.

CHAPTER V.

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THE OLDEST SPECIMENS OF DRAVIDIAN SPEECH,

78. TELUGU AND KANARESE SPECIMENS.

It is not proposed in this chapter to give any account of the literatures of the cultivated Dravidian languages or of the inscriptions in them, but merely to ascertain the oldest specimens of these languages that have come down to us either in the form of literature or of inscriptions and to determine the age of these specimens. This is necessary not only for the purpose of deciding the relative priority of large number of Dravidian and Aryan suffixes which are identical in form and in value, but also for the purpose of comparing the eldest Dravidian grammatical forms with the modern ones and of ascertaining what changes have taken place in them and how these changes have been brought about. In the case of Telugu and Kanarese there is little doubt or controversy as to the dates to be assigned to the oldest specimens and these languages will be dealt with first in the order stated.

Telugu. The extant Telugu literature begins in the 11th century A. D. and the earliest Telugu work is the renowned Namayya Bhattarāka's translation of the Mahābhārata. A superior work of this kind could not have come into existence all at once and argues an antecedent literary cultivation of the language for several centuries.

Telugu inscriptions being earlier, the earliest of them being the Målepådu stone inscription of Colamabārājā Saktikomara of Siddhivēyu Rēnāndu which is referred to the 8th century A. D. (E. I. XI, p. 337 et seq), and the Bezwada stone inscriptions of the two Yuddhamalla's, grandfather and grandson, which are referred to the latter part of the 9th and the early part of the 10th century. These are

the only inscriptions discovered till now of a date anterior to the time of Rājarāja, the patron of Nannayya.

In addition to the conjunct consonant -nr- referred to in S. 50 supra as possibly an intermediate stage between the Sanskrit -nt- and the Telugu -nd-, the Malepagu inscription contains the following grammatical forms: -cefina, iccina, naccunonnu, ≥lucuari. It will be pointed out hereafter that since the pro-Dravidian period, Telugu has undergone important grammatical changes; some of these are the lengthening of the old verbal bases ending in vowels by a cu or a su (ru) suffix, the formation of a new past tense in ing and also probably a new present participle in cun or tun. It will be seen from the above forms occurring in the Malepadu inscription that these important changes had already taken place by the time of Saktikomara, and it is to be presumed that other changes since the pro-Dravidian period, such as, the past tense in ti and the future forms in & and eda, had also taken place by that time, Telugu had practically attained its present form by the 8th century and has undergone no important changes since. But several alternative forms which grammarians have preserved either as dialectic varieties or as archaic tenses given us a peep into much earlier stages of the languages,

The section relating to Telugu suffixes in Chapter VI is based on Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu Language and Chinnayasūri's Bālavyākaraṇamu.

Kanarese. According to the "Lives of Kannaga Poets" the earliest of the extant literary works in Kanarese are

(1) Kavirājamārga, a treatise on rhetoric ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I (814-877) but surmised by some to have been the work of Srī Vijaya the chief poet of his court, and (2) Adipurate and Bharata written by Adipampa who belonged to the 10th century.

Kavirājamārga mentions the names of eleven noteworthy poets and the quotations made in the treatise from the works of previous poets place it beyond a doubt that the literary cultivation of Kanarese must have begun several centuries before the time of Amoghayarsa. There is also a tradition that in the 7th century A. D. one Srivardhadeva, a Jaina priest, wrote a very extensive Kanarese commentary (not now extant) on Cūdāmaņi consisting of 84,000 verses besides an abridgement thereof of 12,000 verses.

Kanarese inscriptions begin in the 6th century, the earliest of them being the short one at Badami of the Western Cālukya king Mangalisa recording a grant to the garland makers of a temple (I. A. Vol. X, page 60). Other early Călukya records appear to be the Balagamve stone inscription of the time of Vinavaditya I(I.A. Vol. XVIII), about eight inscriptions of the time of Vijayaditya and of his son Vikramāditva II at Mahākūta, Pattadakal and Aihole(I. A. Vol. X, Nos. 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105; I. A. Vol. VIII, Nos. 57 and 58) and the Adur inscription of the time of Kirti varman II (I. A. XI): there is also one inscription of Vikramāditya II in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram at the time of his entry into that city after defeating Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Of the Rastrakūta grants the following two may be mentioned. The Pattadakal inscription of the time of Nirupama I and the charter of Govinda III (I. A. Vol. XI). These and some others not mentioned here are earlier than the time of Amoghavarsa.

The section relating to Kanarese suffixes in Chapter VI is based entirely on Dr. Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaga Language. Dr. Kittel thinks that there are three distinct stages in the history this language—Ancient, Medieval

and Modern, and this division is followed in the discussion on Kanarese suffixes in the following pages (ancient 600 A. D. to 1250 A. D.; medieval 1250 A. D. to—1600 A. D.; modern 1600 A. D. to the present time (K. K. G. S. 109),

79. (a) TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS.

Tamil inscriptions in the Pallaya country begin earlier than those in the Pandya or Cola kingdoms, and the earliest to which we are in a position to assign a date is the cave inscription of a vassal of the Pallava King Mahendravarman I at Vallam near Chingleput which is referred to the let half of the 7th century A. D. (S. I. I. I., Vol. II, part III, p. 340). There appears to be an earlier inscription, that at Tirunadar Kuuru in South Arcot, recording the Sallekhana (religious suicide by fasting) of a Jaina mendicant, the date of which can be determined only on palaeographical grounds-The late Mr. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore, was of opinion that it belonged to the 5th or the 6th century. Both inscriptions are in what may be called modern Tamil. Other old Pallava inscriptions. in Tamil are the Tamil portion of the Küram plates of Parameśvaravarman which belongs to the 7th century; the Triplicane temple inscription of Dantivarman (E. I. Vol. VIII) and the Tamil portion of the Kaśākudi plates issued by Nandivarman Pallavamalla (S. I. I. Vol. II; part. III), both of which belong to the 8th century. The Tamil portions of the Vělürpžlaiyam plates and of the Udayendiram plates appear to belong to the 9th century; to this century

also belong the two Kil-Muttugur inscriptions of the time of Narasimhavarman and the two Ambur inscriptions of the time of Nrpatungavarman (E. I. IV). Several other inscriptions of the same period may be mentioned but they are all composed in modern Tamil, the characteristics of which can be ascertained from grammars.

It must be mentioned here in passing that we have numerous Prākṛit and Sanskrit records of Pallava kings which are centuries older than any of the Tamil inscriptions mentioned above and which enable us to construct a continuous genealogy of the kings of Kāñei almost from the third century A.D. The earliest of these are the four Prākṛt copper plate grants known as those of Mayidavôlu (E. I. Vol. VI., page 84) Hīrahadagalli (E. I. Vol. I, p. 1) Dāhıra (E. I. Vol. VIII, p. 143) and Kondamudi (E. I Vol. VI., p. 315); the remaining one in Sanskrit.

Côla Tamil inscriptions begin only in the 10th century and all of them are in modern Tamil. Some of the Păṇḍya inscriptions belong to the 8th century. Jațilavarman Parāntaka was a famous Pāṇḍya king who ruled in the latter half of the 8th century and he is the donor in what are called the Smaller Siṇṇamaṇur plates, the Madras Museum plates and the Vēļvikkuḍi plates; all these three contain a Sanskrit portion and a Tamil portion; to this reign also belong two short rock inscriptions, one in Aṇamalai (E. I. Vol. VIII) and the other in Tirupparankuṇram (I. A.), and the Aramboli memorial stone now in the Travancore Museum (T. A. S. Vol. I, p. 153).

It is a remarkable circumstance that between the Brahmi inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries and the earliest Tamil inscriptions mentioned above, that is, for a period of one thousand years—there has been found no lithic or copperplate record in the Pandya country in Sanskrit, Prakrt or any other language.

(b) EARLY MALABAR INSCRIPTIONS.

Early Malabar inscriptions are in what may be called good Modern Tamil and begin in the 9th century; and the earliest of them belong to the reigns of two kings-Ko-k-karunandadakkan who ascended the throne of Malairāj-yam in 855 A. D. and his successor Vikarmāditya Varaguņa who appears to have become king sometime in 866 A. D. There are seven inscriptions belonging to these two reigns of which five are in Tamil and the remaining two partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil (T. A. S. Part I., pp. 1 to 18; 187 to 200). A third king Rājašekhara is also supposed to have reigned in the former part of the 9th century; the Talamana illom copper-plate in Tamil belongs to this reign (T. A. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 8 to 14).

Malayāļam literature is admittedly quite recent. The Section relating to Malayāļam suffixes in this book is based on Dr. Gundert's Grammar of the Malayāļam Language and Mr. Seshagiriprahhu's Vyākaraṇāmṛtam.

(c) EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE.

The Tamil language has a body of literature supposed to be centuries older than the oldest of the above inscriptions and said to contain the productions of the poets composing the Third Cankam at Madura. A Cankam is a conference, or better, a school of poets representing a period of literary activity. It is stated that there were three such Cankams or periods, but only the works of the last stated to have come down to us. These are arranged in eight collections or anthologies:—(1) Kuruntokai, (2) Ainkurunüru, (3) Patigruppattu, (4) Nagrinai, (5) Purānāṇānūru, (6) Akanāṇūru. (7) Kalitokai and (8) Paripāṭal. The poems comprised in the first six anthologies are short unconnected pieces, composed by various poets and dealing with various situations that may arise in the course of love, in married life, in war and in other

affairs of life. The same remarks applies to No. 7 Kalittokai but the poems comprised in this anthology are comparatively longer and give us slight insight into the life of the people. No. 8 Paripāṭal originally consisted of seventy poems but only twenty-two of these are now available; of these six relate to the god Viṣṇu, eight to Subrahmanya and the remaining eight to the river Vaikai. The anthologies appear to have taken their present shape long after the Cankam age and perhaps include many later pieces.

There are, besides, Tolkappiyam the grammar of Old Tamil traditionally supposed to have been composed during the second Cankam and Irayanar Akapporul, a work on crotics; these two undoubtedly belong to the period to which the anthologies belong. Besides these ten works there is also a collection of ten long poems called Pattuppattu and two epics, Cilappatikaram and Manimekalai which are stated to have been composed by the poets of the Third Cankam, but from linguistic considerations they must be placed between the last Cankam and the period of the Tamil inscriptions. These three works give a fair idea of the life of the people and of the culture attained by the early Tamils.

As the Cankam works contain the oldest specimens that have come down to us of the Dravidian languages, and as Tolkäppiyam, the grammar of Old Tamil, does not give any information as to the tense suffixes then in use, these works have been examined in detail from the point of view of tense suffixes and the results of the examination are given in the special section devoted to Old Tamil. Whenever reference is made to Old Tamil in this book, the language as contained in these works is meant.

80. THE OXYRHYNGHUS PAPYRUS.

We have to refer here to the language of the papyrus of the second century A. D. discovered at Oxyrhynchus about twenty years ago. The papyrus is discussed by Professor

- E. Hultszeh in an article in the J. R. A. S. 1904 and his conclusion is that the papyrus contains some specimens of Kanarese; and many people believe that these are the oldest available specimens of that language. The following extracts from the above article will explain Professor Hultszeh's position:
- (a) "One of the papyri of the second century A.D. which Drs. Grenfell and Hunt lately discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, contains several passages in a barbarian language which is presumably an Indian dialect. This may be concluded from the facts that that text—a farce—is concerned with a Greek lady, named Charition, who has been stranded on the coast of a country bordering the Indian Ocean, and that the king of that country addresses his retinue by the words' Iνδῶν πρόμοι 'chiefs of the Indians'. In other places the same king and his countrymen use their own language. Twice one of the Greeks accompanying the heroine gives the Greek translation of a few Indian words.
 - 59. βραθιε (or βρκθεικ) = let us draw lots for the shares.
 - 66. κυττως = 'give to drink'; ζοπιτ = 'quickly'
 In line 64, βραώς occurs but no meaning is given.

A speech of the King is given which is repeated in the play in a slightly different manner but no meaning is given.

lines 83, and 84, βερη κουζεί δαμυν πετρεκίω πακτει Repetition. βερη πετρεκίω δομυτ κινζεη παξεί

> 6 7 8 9 10 πανουμ βρηκτι κατε μαδοδυαμ βρητουουενί

(b) Professor E. Hultszeh is of opinion that the words are taken from the Kanarese language, and the following is his explanation: ζοπίτ = jhatiti 'quickly'; κοττως=kudisu 'give to drink'
βραθις = bêr ādisu 'let us play separately.'
βραδις = bêr ādisi (conjunctive participle of the above).

- βερη = bērē 'separately';
- (2) koviei = kinin = Konca 'a little ';
 - (3) δαμυν or δαμυτ = madhwam accusative of madhu honey δ and μ being transposed;
 - (4) πετρεκω = patrakke, fourth case of patra 'a vessel';
 - (5) mastei or magei an incorrect rendering of haki
 'having put';
- (6) =avovµ = pānam;
 - (7) Bonri = ber etti ;
 - (8) Kate = Katti ;
 - (9) paroonay = madhuvam;
 - (10) Benravovevi = ber ettuvenu.

The meaning of the passage according to the Professor is "Having taken up the cup separately and having covered (it) I shall take wine separately."

- (c) The following remarks are offered :-
- (1) Zopit is now used in a Hindi dialect in the sense of 'quickly.'
- (2) In the King's speech ponum, madhu, potram, kinje (=Prākṛt kinri), and possibly also bere are all words from Sanskrit.
- (3) The apparent non-Sanskritic residuum thus consists of the conjunctive participle βαδις κατε, πακτεί, παξεί, and the finite verb βρητονουενί.
- Dr. Kittle's Dictionary does not give pake as the oldform of hake, supposing that the old form was pake the participal suffixes are vsi and vsi; these might have arisen from the Sanskrit and the Prakrit suffixes -tye and -cye which may become -te and -ce respectively.

Similarly βρητίκατε may be the transformation of a single word prthi -krtya.

The passage is so full of words of Sanskritic origin that it belongs to an Aryan vernacular of the north. If Professor Hultszch's surmises are correct, then there was not much in pro-Kanarese which was not obviously derived from Sanskrit.

81. SOUTH INDIAN SCRIPTS.

It is now generally admitted that the Indian Aryans became acquainted with a North Semitic alphabet about 1000 B.C. and that they elaborated it so as to suit their own highly developed phonetic system. This elaborated script was first publicly employed in the Aśoka inscriptions which were written in two characters, the Northern and the Southern. The Northern, that of the Kapurdigarhi near Peshawar is written from right to left, while the Southern employed in all other inscriptions is written from left to right. It is now also admitted that all the Indian alphabets of the present day are derived from the Southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.

The scripts in use in Southern India are the Telugu-Kanarese, the Tamil-Grantha, and the Tulu-Malayalam besides the disused Vatteluttu or Round-hand formerly used exclusively in the Pandya-Cera country. The group-Tamil-Grantha includes the modern Tamil script and the script used by Tamil Brahmans in transcribing Sanskrit works; the affinities between these two groups shows that they must have been derived from a common original. Similarly the Kanarese and Telugu scripts included in the first group are traceable to a common original, as also the Tulu and Malayalam scripts included in the third group. It is now admitted on all hands that these three originals must have been derived from the South Asoka alphabes.

In regard to Vatteluttu Dr. A. C. Burnell the earliest authority on the point was of opinion that "the South Asoka and the Vatteluttu alphabets were independent adaptations from some foreign character, the first to a Sanskritic, the last to a Dravidian language 1." At page 38. of his South Indian Palacography he said "This is the original Tamil alphabet which was once used in all that part of the peninsula south of Tanjore and also in South Malabar and Travancore where it still exists though in exceedingly limited use, and in a modern form. It may therefore be termed the Panayan character, as its use extended over the whole of that kingdom at its best period; it appears also to have been in use in the small extent of country below the Ghats which belonged to the Cera kingdom. As it was only gradually supplanted by the modern Tamil character beginning about the 11th century under the Colusit is certain that the Tolkappiyam, Nannul, Kural and all the other early Tamil works were written in it under the most flourishing period of the "Pandya" (or Madura) kingdom or before the tenth century when it finally fell under the Colas. But though it is certain that the beginning of the Tamil literature may be safely put about the ninth century, there is nothing to show that there was in any way a literature before that time."

Again at page 49 he says "The ultimate origin of the Vatteluttu is again a difficult problem in Indian Palaco-graphy. In the 8th century it existed side by side and together with the Grantha; it is therefore impossible to suppose that the Vatteluttu is derived from the South Aśoka character, even if the conclusive argument of the dissimilarity between the phonetic values of many of the corresponding letters be neglected."

^{1.} Burnell's South Indian Palaeography, p. 40.

He was also of opinion that it was "impossible to put the introduction of writing into the Tamil country at so early a period as the third century B,C," (p. 83).

Every one of Dr. Burnell's speculations has been totally disproved by the recent discovery of a large number of Brahmi inscriptions of the third or second century B.C., in the Pandya country.

Later authorities on the question of South Indian Palaeography are Dr. Buhler and Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. Dr. Buhler enters into a detailed discussion of the development of the Tamil and Vatteluttu scripts in Sections 32 A and B of his Indian Palaeography. His conclusion is that the Tamil script is derived from the South Asokan and that Vatteluttu was a cursive degenerate variety of Tamil. "Palaeographically Vatteluttu is the running hand of Tamil just as much as the modern northern scripts of office-clerks and tradesmen are to their originals, e.g., the Mod of the Marathas to Balbodh, the Takari of Dogra in the Panjab to Sarada."

In a paper on the evolution of Vatteluttu published as No. XVI of the Travancore Archaeological series (T.A. S. Vol. I, pp. 282 et seq.) Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao says "To me it appears that Vatteluttu is most likely derived from the Brāhmi variety of the Asoka alphabet like other alphabets of India, the Nāgarī, the Tamil-Grantha, and the Telugu-Kannada groups. But it had a separate line of evolution. From the close analogy of the early specimens of the Tamil-Grantha characters we are sure that they must have been derived from the same mother alphabet, the Brāhmi of the Asoka script." He then proceeds to consider each Vattejuttu letter and to show in what cases the independent evolution comes in.

Drs. Burnell and Buhler had only two inscriptions in Vatteinittu before them when they wrote their books;

further they were unaware of the existence in Madura-Tinnevelly of cave inscriptions of the early Aśokan type with some orthographical affinities to the Ceylon cave characters and the Bhattiprolu casket script. The existence of these inscriptions was discovered only fifteen or twenty years ago and over forty of them are now known to exist.

Of the earliest Tamil inscriptions mentioned in S. 79-a above all the Pallava inscriptions are in the Tamil script and all the six Pandya inscriptions of the eighth century are in the Vatteluttu script, while, of the seven Malabar inscriptions of the ninth century, four are in the Tamil script and three in the Vatteluttu script. The Côla inscriptions when they began to appear and the all later Pallava inscriptions were also in the Tamil script, and as the Côlas gained ascendency in the south, this script gradually displaced Vatteluttu in the Pandya country and in Malabar.

Brāhmi inscriptions have till now been found only in Madura-Tinnevelly where all the early Tamil inscriptions are in Vatteluttu exclusively. If any of these had been in the Tamil script there might be reason for supposing that the Pāṇḍya kings used two characters, one of which was a cursory variety of the other. Actual facts merely prove the gradual supersession by the Northern Tamil script of the southern Vatteluttu which, as pointed out by Mr. Gopiratha Rao, was probably an independent evolution from the Brāhmi script known in the south so early as the third century B.C. It is thus unnecessary to assume a separate foreign origin for the Vatteluttu.

82. The age of the Cankam works, Gajabāhu synchronism versus Names of Solar signs etc.

We are now in a position to discuss the period that should be assigned to Tolkappiyam and other Tamil Cankam works. There are several conflicting theories on the subject and it is to be regretted that, notwithstanding several decades of critical discussion, there are still to be found, even among. English-educated Indians, persons who still ding to theories based on mere legend about the existence of three Tamil Cankams each extending over several thousands of years which will take the beginnings of South Indian History and of Tamil culture to the last glacial period. The number belonging to this school is, however, rapidly diminishing.

Outside this school the only concession that is made to the antiquity of Tamil Literary culture is that prior to the time of the Tamil Vatteluttu inscriptions which begin in the Pāndya and the Cōra country in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. there was a period of great literary activity in Tamil which has in later times come to be traditionally known as the Cankam age.

The late Professor Seshagiri Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras, appears to have been the first scholar to furnish materials for a rational discussion of the question of the age of these works. He drew attention to a statement in the last chapter of Cilappatikäram that king Kayaväku of Ceylon was present in the court of the Cêra King Ceńkuţtuvaŋ on a certain important occasion and identifying. Kayaväku with the earlier Gajabāhu of Ceylon history, he was able to fix the age of Ceńkuţtuvaŋ and of the incidents related in Cilappatikāram (not necessarily of the composition of the work in its present shape) as the 2nd century A.D.

This Gajabāhu-synchronism was adopted by the late Kanakasabhai Pillai as the basis of his work "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago," This author has constructed from the accounts given in the Cankam work genealogies of kings who are alleged to have ruled in the Tamil land from 50 to 150 A.D. of whom the most famous is stated to be Côla king Karikāla. This account has been adopted in the Cambridge History of India.

The Gajabāhu synchronism also forms the sheet anchor of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's theories elaborated in 'The Beginnings of South Indian History '(1918). In a later work entitled 'Early History of Vaisnavism in Southern India' (1920) the learned Doctor throws back the age of the first Ālvars to the 2nd century A.D. on the ground that there is evidence that Poykaiyālvār was the author of Invilai included in the shorter Cankam works and therefore belongs to the Cankam age.

In regard to the Gajabāhu-synchronism it has been pointed out by adverse critics that the reference to Gajabāhu of Ceylon occurs not in Cilappatikāram itself but in two apparently later supplements subsequently added and that they should not be taken as contemporary references.

Various eminent scholars have pointed out from time to time that there is internal evidence in several works supposed to have been composed by prominent poets of Cańkam age which shows clearly that these compositions belong to a much later age than the second century A.D.; and it is becoming more and more evident every day that the Cańkam age should be put forward to the 5th or the 6th century A.D. It may be remarked in passing that the former of these is the estimate arrived at by Pandit M., Raghava Ayyangar of the Tamil Lexicon office, Madras and that the latter is the estimate arrived at by Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar, B.A. of the Madras Archaeological Department.

 One of the foremost poets of the Carikam age was Cittalaiccattanar who is believed to have composed the well-known epic Manimekalai. This work contains a reference to Kucara-k-kulikai—' a small temple built in the 'Gurjara style'—and it has been pointed out by Mr. V. A. Smith that if this is a reference to Gurjaras the work could not be much earlier than the 6th century A.D. as the Gurjaras are not heard of in Indian History before the middle of the 5th century A.D.

- 2. In another place the month of Vaišākha is referred to in the work by the Rāši name ifapa-corrupt for Sanskrit vysabha. Various scholars have pointed out that the division of the year into solar months and the naming of these months by the corresponding Rāšis did not begin in Northern India till after the 5th century and that the adoption of this system in Southern India in the Tamil country must certainly have been later than its adoption in the north.
- 3. Tolkäppiyam itself (Porul 135) contains the word orai in the sense of "a lagua auspicious or malevolent according to the position of the planets" and it has been pointed out that the Greek word ora or hora acquired this astrological significance only in the post-Ptolemaic astrology about the 3rd century A.D.
- Cilappatikāram uses the word Vellivāram 'Friday.'
 It has been pointed out that the Sanskrit word vāram acquired
 the technical sense of 'a week day' only about the 5th
 century A.D.
- 5. Stanza No. 229 of Puranānūru contains a clear reference to the ecliptic beginning with Asvini while the reference in stanza 11 of Paripāfal to the position of the sm in the beginning of the month of Avani (July-August) clearly indicates the same ecliptic beginning. These stanzas could not possibly be placed earlier than the 5th century.

The dates mentioned above are the lowest possible limits; the poems and stanzas may be much later¹.

For a more detailed statement of this Question see article" Solar Signs in Indian Literature" by Mr. B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, M.A., in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic-Society, Bangalore, October, 1921.

Professors G. Jouvean-Dubreuil of Pondicherry and P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar of Trichinopoly appear to place the great Karikāla Cōļa in the 5th century A.D., that is, four centuries later than the date given by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai.

83. THE AGE OF THE CANKAM WORKS (CONTINUED).

Possible want of a developed vernacular of uniform

standard in the early post-Christian centuries.

The following extract from appendix D to 'Studies in Jainism in South India' (1922) by Professor M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A., of the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram, deals with the question of the Cankam age from another point of view:—

"Writing many years before the discovery of the Caverns and the Brahmi inscriptions of South India, Burnell thought that the Vatteluttu and the South Asokan character were totally distinct importations and postulated a Semitic original in both the cases. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao in criticising the views of both Burnell and Buhler, has not only pointed out several points of similarity between Vatteluttu on the one hand and the other alphabets of South India but has successfully established the fact that Vatteluttu is derived from the Brahmi variety of the Asokan alphabet. We can therefore take it as proved that the most ancient Pandyan script Vatteluttu was derived from the Brahmi inscriptions of the Madura, Ramnad, and Timevelly districts. Epigraphists are inclined to assign the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. for the date of the Brahmi inscriptions. This furnishes us with the lower limit for the period of any Tamil literary activity. The upper limit may be said to be furnished by the Vatteluttu inscription of the Pandyan king Jatllavarman Parantakan (last quarter of the 8th century A.D.), the earliest known record yet dis-

covered written in Vatteluttu. In between these two limits must be sought the period of literary activity known as the Cankam Age. According to the orthodox school of Tamil scholars the sage Agastya was responsible for the evolution of the Tamil language and one of his twelve disciples, Tolkappiyar, wrote the famous treatise on grammar, Tolkappiyam. This grammarian is also believed to have been a member of the first and second Academies each of which existed for hundreds of years. Then was founded the last or the third Academy in which time more than 25,000 lines had been composed. Diverted of legend and myth, we can reduce the traditional account to its proper limits thus. Long before Tolkappiyar there was a period of literary activity, for there can be no grammar without literature. If it is true that Vatteluttu was the earliest Pandyan script and that, as has been remarked, it was derived from the Brahmi inscriptions, we must allow at least three centuries for the development of a literature sufficiently wide to need a grammar. This would bring the date of Tolkappiyar to the end of the 2nd century A.D. Allowing two more centuries for the first two Academies we may safely arrive at the conclusion that in all probability the third Academy was founded in the 5th or 6th century A.D., a period sufficiently near the epoch for which epigraphic records are available, when Vatteluttu was perfected and from which we have a continuous literary history.

It is well known that between the Brahmi inscription of the south and the Vatteluttu inscription of the 8th century, A.D. referred to above there is absolutely no inscription written in any character or any coin-legend to enable us to fix with some certainty the chronology of the Pandyan kings. Scholars who, in season and out of season, sing the glories of the Cankam Age, its vast literature and spacious traditions, have not cared to inquire why, for a period of

more than a thousand years, there has absolutely been no inscription. A few who thought about the subject argue that, notwithstanding the very early literary activity, the Tamils did not know or cultivate the habit of inscribing on stones and issuing copper-plate grants. This is too large an inference to be swallowed without critical examination. The early Tamils are said to be an intelligent and civilized race with a great deal of assimilating power. Not far off from their land the Pallavas were issuing copper-plate grants and in their own home they had the Brāhmi inscriptions. And they could have easily imitated the example of their contemporaries. The fact that they did not do so is due to want of a proper developed language of a uniform standard and not to their inability to understand the usefulness and value of inscription.

It might be argued that even supposing that the Cankam works were reduced to writing in the period not far remote from the time of Jatilavarman Parantakan, the Cankam scholars might still have handed down orally the innumerable verses. The Vedas, the Upanisads and the epics, one might say, were thus handed down from generation to generation by oral repetition. It is true that so far as religious poetry is concerned such a method might have been zealously adhered to. But most of the Cankam poems treat of love and war and are mostly panegyric in character and there is not much of religion in them. It is therefore hard to believe that the Cankam works intact would have been handed down to posterity in the manner of the Vedas. The conclusion of the whole matter is that such intense literary activity as the one that has been ascribed to the legendary Cankam is to be sought for in the time approximating the century for which we have the earliest known Vatteluttu records."

The remark in the above extract about the want of a proper developed language of uniform standard in the Pandya country in the early post-Christian centuries will come as a shock to many Dravidian scholars who assume too readily that the Tamil language, as we now have it or as it was spoken in the period of the Cankam works, was always in use in the Pandya country.

We have to reckon now with the language of the Brahmi inscriptions in the Panaya country. It is not any known Praket nor is it Dravidian. It cannot be said that as in the case of the Asoka inscriptions these Brahmi records are royal' ordinances written in the court-language; for they are not intended to attract attention but are found inside caves which are generally difficult of access and appear to have served as abode to ascetics. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri says that the language of the records seems to be a mixture of Prakrt and Dravidian and that it was probably the language of the people; but much of the supposed Dravidian element turns out on analysis The aim of the present work is to show to be Indo-Arvan. that whatever was the language of Southern India in times long past it has been radically changed by the Aryan speaking immigrants from the North.

None of the modern Aryan vernaculars of the north had assumed their present form before 1000 A.D. The Dravidian languages might have come into existence earlier, but we must accustom ourselves to the view that their beginnings are not far removed from the beginning of the Christian era,

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CHAPTER VI.

84. THE TAMIL ALPHARET.

(a) The order and classification of Tamil sounds.

The Tamil alphabet contains thirty letters consisting of twelve vowels and eighteen consonants. The vowels are in order a, a, i, i, u, a, e, i, ai, e, b, au; this is the same order as that followed in the enumeration of the Sanskrit vowels but with the omission of r, r and l. The consonants are k, ii, e, ii, l, n, t, n, p, m, y, r, l, v, l, l, r, v. The last four of these are unknown to the Sanskrit alphabet. Of the remaining fourteen, the first ten constitute the gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals and labials arranged in the Sanskrit order of consonants but containing only two under each class, a tenuis and a nasal. The remaining four sounds y, r, l, v are what are called antas-sthat 'intermediate' in Sanskrit and also follow the Sanskrit order. It is stated in the perface to Tolkäppiyam that this order of letters has never changed, i.e., that it has been in existence from the very beginning.

Besides these thirty sounds there are three others called kurriyalikaram or 'the short i' kurriyalikaram or 'the short i' and dytam having a symbol consisting of three dots (.'.). There were three i's in the Tamil alphabet i, i, i of which the last had only one-half the quantity of the second and one-fourth the quantity of the first; similarly there were three u's i, u, ii of which the third had only one-half the quantity of

A short metrical preface supposed to be written by a so-disciple of the author of Tolkappiyam:—

mayanka marap v eluttu nurai katti

[&]quot;he explained the never changing order of letters".

the second and one-fourth that of the first. The aytam corresponds to the visarga of Sanskrit. These three letters are called dependent letters and it is stated that their sounds partake of the sounds of the letters to which they are attached.

The eighteen consonants are divided into three classes (1) vallinam 'hard class' consisting of the tenues k, c, t, t, p, r; (2) mellinam, literally 'soft class', consisting of the nasal s, s, n, n, m, n corresponding to the tenues in the previous class, and (3) italyinam or the intermediate class y, r, l, v, l, l. The term mellinam (soft class) which would ordinarily connote mediae is obviously a misnomer, for the letters included in the class have only nasal sounds and they can be said to be soft only in the sense that they indicate that the tenues following them should be pronounced like mediae, i.e., that ik, we, nt, nt, and mp should be pronouced as ng, nj, nd, nd and mb. An pointed out already r and p are alveolar sounds which are placed at the end of the alphabet, though their place of articulation is between the dentals and cerebrals; and [and I though placed after y, r, l, z have places of articulation which lie between those of y and r.

Of the three dependent letters the short i and short is were originally apparently intended to indicate glide sounds. The short i, however, plays no part in modern Tamil and played but little part in old Tamil; it need not be considered here. The short is has now become an overgrown off-glide and is dealt with below.

(b) The Aytam.

The third sound called aytam has also practically disappeared from Tamil but its name furnishes an important clue in the development of the Tamil idioms and should be considered here. The visarga in Sanskrit when followed by tenues had sounds corresponding to the class to which these tenues belonged. Thus, when followed by a guttural tenuis

the visarga had the sound of a spirant something like that of a in loc and was called jihvamaliya (produced at the root of the tongue) as in Ramalikaroti 'Rama does'. When followed by c it was converted into s, when followed by a cerebral termis it became s, and when followed by a dental it had the sound of s. When followed by a labial tenuis it was sounded like the English f and was called upadhmontya (produced at the lips) as in Ramah pasyati 'Rama sees'. The Sanskrit language had -coined separate symbols for \$, \$, and \$ the sounds which the visarga acquired when followed by palatal, cerebral and dental tenues but it had no separate symbols for the sounds described as jihodmallys and upadhmaniya. The visarga itself, slightly modified, was written in these two cases and the grammar contained a general rule that the sound of the visarga in such cases was dependent upon the consonant following, i.e., the upadhmāniya and the jihoāmāliya were described as parāśritan 'dependent on the following (sounds)'; and they with some other letters were described as a śritasthanabhaginah 'having the same place of articulation as the letters on which they depended '.

In Tolkappiyam the dytam, the short i and the short is are described as edrpu clutts 'dependent letters' and one of its rules' specifically says that they do not occur independently and that their sounds are determined by those of the letters on which they depend. A special rule in regard to dytam says that it always precedes a tenuis valligam and its sound is determined by this consonant. This characteristic resembles that of the visarga when it is jihodmūliya and upadhmūniya. Several instances will be found below to show that Tamil, when adopting Sanskritwords containing the conjunct consonant is omits this conjunct. The word airitam, when dealt with in this manner will become ditam, i.e., dyatm

Tolkappiyam I, Pirappiyal—19.

which is the name in Tamil of the dependent letter we are now considering. Humanly speaking there is no doubt that the word dynam is the same as the Sanskrit word dynam in a Tamil garb.

85. THE TAMIL MALAYALAM SCRIPTS.

Absence of symbols for e and e in the old scripts.-

All the thirty-three sounds enumerated above had special symbols in writing except the short i, the short ii, a and o. We gather from Tolkappiyam that the symbols for e, e were also then used for ê, ô respectively but with a dot over them like that placed over consonants not moved by vowels. The short i appears to have been left without any mark to distinguish it from the ordinary i; whether there was any symbol for the short it will be considered later. The sounds e and o whether appearing initially as in evan oti or in combination with consonants as in katu, col, continued to be marked with dots till after the close of the 12th century, for the grammar Nannul written about that time contains a rule that s and o should be marked with a dot to distinguish them from e and e. The celebrated missionary Beschi says in his grammar of Koduntamil that the upper loops which now distinguish ? and o in combination with consonants from e and o in similar combination kē (Ga), ke (Qa); kō (Gan), ko (Qan) were first introduced by himself. Initial & (v) and o () had apparently come to be distinguished from initial & (sr) and s (s) even before the time of Beschi.

As pointed out by Bishop Caldwell long ago the fact that the original Tamil script made no distinction between the long and the short ϵ or between the long and the short ϵ but had only one character for the long and short vowels tends to show that the script was in imitation of an alphabet framed originally for the expression of Sanskrit sounds containing only $\tilde{\epsilon}$ and \tilde{a} , not for those of the Dravidian languages which had both e, θ and $\bar{e}, \bar{\theta}$. This point is now placed beyond a doubt by the investigations of Dr. Buhler and Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row.

(b) THE TAMIL AND VATTELUTTU SCRIPTS.

Early inscriptions show that there were two scripts formerly in use in the Tamil country. One of them originally used in the Pallava inscriptions, has gradually spread to the Gola and the Pandya territories and has developed into the modern Tamil script and entirely displaced the Vatteluttu which was formerly used exclusively in the Panaya-Cera country and in which the oldest Tamil works must have been written. It is admitted on all hands that the modern Tamil script is ultimately traceable to the South Aśokan script, but Dr. Burnell was of opinion that Vatteluttu was an independent adaptation from a foreign character. Dr. Buhler in discusses this question Ss. 32-A and 32-B of his Indian Palaeography and comes to the conclusion that Vatteluttu is a cursive degenerate variety of the Tamil script derived from the South Asokan, Dr. Buhler and Dr. Burnell had only two Vatteluttu inscriptions to base their conclusions upon; but the late Mr. Gopinatha Row, Archaeological Superintendent, Travancore, whose work lay in the land of Vatteluttu inscriptions, has re-examined this question in detail (T. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 283 et seq) and comes to the conclusion that Vatteluttu is an independent evolution from the Brahmi script. This is prime facie very probable as numerous inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the early Asokan type have recently been discovered in the Pandya country; Mr. Gopinatha Row shows in fact how each Vatteluttu letter is evolved from the South Asokan. Drs. Burnell and Buhler were unaware of the existence in the Pandya country of these Brahmi inscriptions belonging to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C.

(c) MALAYALAM ALPHABET AND SCRIPT.

Though Malayāļam is a late off-shoot from Tamil, it nas in modern times admitted all the sounds of Sanskrit in its literature. The Malayāļam and Tuļu scripts are traceable to a common original which again is admittedly derived from the South Aśokan.

86. INDO-ARYAN WORDS IN TAMIL.

- (a) Classification of Tamil words.—According to Tol-käppiyam and Naunul Tamil words are divisible into four classes: (i) iparcol, (ii) tiricol, (iii) ticai-c-col, (iv) valucol. Iparcol, literally 'natural words', includes all words in common use; tiricol, literally 'altered words', includes all unusual words confined to poetry, literature and the sciences. These are the two main divisions of Tamil proper which, again, may be either 'pure' can-tamil or 'corrupt' kaluntamil, The word ticai in the third class ticai-c-col is related to the Sanskrit word desya and appears to imitate the name of the third class in the threefold classification of Präkrt words as (a) tatsama, (b) tadbhava, (c) desya. Centamil and kaluntamil are literally 'straight Tamil' and 'crooked Tamil', and the adjectives can and kalum are derived as well be shown later, from the Sanskrit words sama 'straight' and kul (ila) 'carred'.
- (b) Vatacol. Rules for the transcription of Inde-Aryan words in the Tamil script. Although the Tamil alphabet was wholly inadequate to represent Indo-Aryan words containing mediae, aspirates, sibilants and the vowels \(\tau\), \(\tau\) and \(\textit{l}\) Tolkappiyam is very particular that in transcribing such words only Tamil letters should be used and that letters special to the Sanskrit alphabet should be avoided; the grammar adds that it does not matter if the words thereby lose their original shape and sound provided the new forms are suitable. The result has been that Indo-Aryan words admitted into Tamil literature have been greatly altered, sometimes beyond

all recognition; this has also been their fate in popular speech. Nannül, a grammar written perhaps more than ten centuries after Tolkappiyam, contains a rule which says that in transcribing Indo-Aryan words we might use letters which are common to Tamil and Sanskrit or letters special to the Sanskrit alphabet or both classes of letters. But this deviation from the Tolkappiyam rule is only apparent, for another rule of Nannül lays down that the special letters of the Sanskrit alphabet should be transliterated in the Tamil script in accordance with a table of equivalents prescribed. These special letters are stated to be .- the four vowels r, r, l, l, the anusvara or nasal o, the visarga, the aspirate tenuis, the media, and the aspirate media of each of five classes of mutes and the consonants s, s, s, h, ks, sp and it is laid down that these should be transliterated as follows in the Tamil script .-

- (i) all mediae, aspirate tenues, and aspirate mediae should become tenues of their respective classes;
- (ii) r> i or iru; as dṛṣṭi 'sight', vṛddhi 'increase'.
 tiṭṭi, virutti.
- (iii) j> y; as aja 'a goat ', pankaja 'a lotus '>ayam, pankayam.
- (iv) \$> ε or y; as \$ālā 'a hall 'šmašūna 'cometry '> εālai, mayūμum.
- (v) \$> e or f; as \$adguna' six qualities', pusfi' nourishment'> cafkuna, putfi.
- (vi) s> c or t; as sūtra 'thread', vatiarēja 'proper name',> cūttiram, vatiarēja.
- (vii) h> a or k; as hāra 'a garland ', gṛah 'a house '> āram, kirakam.
 - (viii) ks> kk; as paksa 'a side '> pakkam.

- (ix) final d> ai; as mālā 'a garland, a wreath '>
- (x) final i > i; as puri 'a town ', kumūri 'daughter '> puri, kumūri.
- (xi) Other rules given in Nannul in regard to the changes to be made in Indo-Aryan words are that words beginning with r, l, y should have the on-glides (1) a, i, or u, (2) i or u and (3) i respectively.
- (xii) In regard to conjunct consonants, Nannūal lays down that when y, r, l are the second members of the nexus the conjuncts must be broken up by interposing the vowel i; that if m, v are the second members, the vowel u should be interposed; that a should be interposed when the second member is n; and that if r is the first member u should be interposed, as:—vākya 'a sentence', vakra 'crooked', śukla 'white', padma 'a lotus', pakva 'cooked, mature', raina a gem', sarpa 'a snake'; > vākkiyam, vākkiyam, cukkilam, padmam, pakkuvam, aratanam, caruppam.

Nothing is stated in regard to the vowels r, l, or the anusulra and visarga. The above are the rules which Tamil writers have adopted for their guidance when transcribing Indo-Aryan words in the Tamil script and words so transliterated are placed by them in the fourth class valued of Tamil words.

(e) Corruptions in popular speech. Dravida is not the only part of India in which a progressive civilization has necessitated the admission of a large number of Indo-Aryan words into the vernacular vocabularies. The same has happened in the Malayālam, Kanarese and Telugu speaking countries but the cultivators of these languages have expanded their alphabets as so to preserve the Indo-Aryan words with as little change as possible. It is only the old cultivators of Tamil, with the grammarians at their head, that were very particular that the borrowed words should be transcribed in the defective Tamil script in accordance with certain rules laid down by them. If their object was that people should in course of time forget the northern origin of these words and come to regard them as independent words of the South they have succeeded most wonderfully in their object as is evidenced by the current Dravidian theory and by the contention of many Dravidian scholars that Sanskrit has borrowed largely from Dravidian especially from Tamil,

The whole of this paper is devoted to the discovery of a portion at least of the Indo-Aryan words to which the disguised Dravidian words owe their origin. There is not much difficulty in discovering the originals consciously altered in accordance with the rules laid down by Tamil grammarians, though even here one often meets with puzzles; e.g.,

Indo-Aryan,		Dravidian	
Jamadagnih Prahladah	the father of Paragaramatthe son of Hiranya.	Iromanki Pirunkaladan	
Bahvrea	'having many verses', a term applied to the Rg- Veda.)	Paviliyam Pautikam	
Muhürtah	'a measure of time' (48 minutes)	Muluttara	

But long before the time of Tolkāppiyam, before perhaps writing began, Indo-Aryan words had, owing to the limited range of sounds of which South-Indian mouths and vocal organs were capable, become altered to an extent undreamt of by the authors of Nannūl and Tolkāppiyam. This may be illustrated by taking the case of the Sanskrit vowel r which should change into i or iru according to the rule of Nannūl, but has actually changed into a, i, u, e, e, ar, ir, ur

etc., in popular speech as will be seen in the following examples.

r	Sanskrit	Intermediate	Tamil
becom	mes	forms	
a	mrgah 'a deer,	mage	mā (I) 'a deer "
		Pāli form)	(2) 'a beast "
			man'a deer*
7	tra 'to eat,		tig ' to cat ';
	to graze*		also tun (coll.)
1987	A A S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	THE SE	un to cat
	consume *		
. 6	rksah 'a bear '	ekkhu	encu 'a bear
	pr-nu to be de-		pen ' to be de-
	lighted '		tighted, pleased"
	prn 'to delight'		
	pr-na to cherish,	44	pēn to cherish,
	to nourish'		to support'
	Sanskrit	Latermediate	Tamil
becom		forms	
ar	r rtom 'a sacred custon		
	(Vedic) a pious actio		
	mrd 'clay, mud' ma		
15			
247	r krtta 'cut off, muti		ta kurram, kurai
			defect, a fault
	py 'to protect'	pu	a to protect, to
	Vacantina I Santina Statement		rule as a king
	(NoteSimilar transform	nations of z	occur also in the

(Note.—Similar transformations of f occur also in the Aryan venaculars of the North.)

The words shown in the last column are now regarded as pure Tamil words but they are all obvious Sanskrit tadbhavas; such tadbhavas are to be found by hundreds in the class of words sherished by Dravidian scholars as centamil and in the crusses named as ketuntamil and ticai-c-cel. The rest of this

section will be devoted to the discovery of the laws of letterchange which have transformed Indo-Aryan words in this extraordinary manner and of a portion at least of the missing links lost and forgotten, perhaps for over two thousand years.

87. THE TELUGU ALPHABET.

(a). The Telugu sounds :- The standard Telugu grammar by Ginnayya Sūri enumerates 36 letters as belonging to pure (acca) Telugu. 'There are twelve vowels as in Tamil a, a, i, I, u, a, e, e, ai, e, b, and au. After the vowels come a nasal a called anusedra or bindu and an obscure nasal called ardhamumara (half-nasal.). The consonants are twenty two in number : k, g, c, j, t, d, n,t, d, n, p, b, m, y, r, l, v, s, h, l. The first fifteen of these are arranged in the order guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental and labial, each class having a tenuis and a media; between the palatals and the cerebrals come e and j having the value of to and dg which are the sounds assumed by e and j when moved by non-palatal vowels. The class-nasals capable of appearing independently, otherwise than in conjunction with the corresponding tenues and mediae, and having separate symbols are n, n, m. The bindu and the ardhanusuara may take the place of class-nasals before the corresponding tenues and mediae.

The grammar does not mention the harsh r of Telugu, called sakafa rephamu, as a separate letter of the alphabet as it considers that the harsh r is only a variety of the ordinary r; but as the cakafa rephamu of many Telugu words corresponds to the alveolor r of the corresponding Tamil-Malayalam words there is no doubt that it was originally an alveolar but that its original value has now been forgotten. We saw already that the literary Tamil carru 'coil, envelope' passed into cattu having the same meaning in Telugu. In the

following instances taken from Cinnayya Sūri's grammar, what ought to be rr in Telugu becomes tt similarly:—kuru small, short'+usuru 'life, breath'=Kuttumru (kurrusuru), ciru 'small'+eluka 'rat'—citteluka (cirreluka). Where rr does occur, it is pronounced like rr, as in erra 'red', kurrusuru'a 'a lad, young man'.

Recent epigraphical researches seem to show that the Tamil sound I was also formerly used in some Telugu words. Throughout the historic period all the letters and sounds of Sanskrit have been freely admitted into the Telugu language and literature.

- (b) The original Telagu alphabet possibly had only tenues and no medice.
- (1) Though the Telugu alphabet possesses characters to represent unaspirate mediae, some Sanskrit words containing aspirate and unaspirate mediae are written with tenues in the tabbhava forms. Examples:—

Sanskrit,	Telugu.
garbhalt ' pregnancy, embryo '	kadupu
	karumi
drtih 'a leather bag '	titti
dr's in dr'syste 'is seen, appears'	teliyo
dhişnyam 'a prepared seat'	tinniy
	tim
rājan 'a king'	100
	raca
mrgah 'a deer'	meganin
	mekamu
nibham 'pretence, pretext, fraud'	nepanus
men a la sa	nevimu
brāhmanah 'a Brahman' Korava pon	
Brahman' Telugu penimiti 'hi	usband '

^{1.} L.S. of India, Volume IV, pp. 324-395.

Note.—In the Tamil country Brahmans refer to their wives as pomman-affi, where pomman bomman a Brahman (Hindi) < S. Brahmana, and affi, is a feminine termination; and Brahman women refer to their husbands as Brahmana. Penimifi husband is apparently the oblique base of a lost word of the form penamar; for in the specimen of the Korava dialect referred to in the footnote, a Brahman woman refers to her husband as penambra, which word is explained to be a corrupt form of Brahmana. This shows that Brahman women of the Telugu country also refer to their husbands as Brahman. Compare skafi in which the original uninflected form appears to have been lost.

These examples seem to show that there must have been a period, perhaps the oldest, when as in Tamil, there were only unaspirate tenues in Telugu. Of the Präkrt languages mentioned by old grammarlane the only one which did not possess any medial sounds was the Collina Palšācikā¹ of Hemacandra which substituted the first and second sounds of each væga for the third and fourth sounds.

This rule obtains in certain Cülika Paiśaci words given by Pischel in para, 191 of his Präkṛt grammar, here p is substituted not only for b but also for v in rome instances. Thus-Govinda and Keśava appear also as Gopinta and Keśapa,

Certain varieties of Ārṣa Prākṛt dealt with in Caṇda's Prākṛt grammar appear to have followed a rule similar to the one quoted above; for the MSS, marked C and D² by

Hem. (IV-325). Calika-Paiśācikā tṛtlyaturlyayôr ādyadvitīyau; "In Cālika Paišācikā the first and the second letter of the rarga are substituted for the third and the fourth respectively."

Sütra III-11 (a). tritiyacaturthayöh, prathamadvirtyan;
 The first and second letters take the place of the third and fourth letters respectively." (Hoernle's Canga, p. 48 Appendix C-D.)

Dr. Hoernic and obtained from Western India contain a similar rule.

(ii) On the other hand in another class of tailbhavas in Telugu the first and second letters of a varga are often replaced by the third and fourth letters, the fourth again being replaced often by h. Examples:—

Sanskrit.		Teingu.
arthali	'meaning'	ardhemu
a svatthah	a kind of tree	asvaddhamu
v1tht:	'a road, street	vidhi
kudyam	'a wali '	gada
mukhom	* face *	mulamu
sukham	pleasure 1	suhamu
putrika	"a damsel"	bottiya, botte
panktih	" a row "	banti
putrals	"B son"	bidda (pillat in
Saurase	mi pudd	Tamil).

Note.—The substitution of dha for the occurs only in the colloquial speech in some localities,

The above examples remind ut of the much Area rules¹
"The third letter takes the place of the first," "The second and fourth letters take the places of the first and second."

In ' hudarams, gurranus,' we have both tennis and media.

(iii) These inconsistent and puzzling substitutions obviously relate to words borrowed at different periods in the history of the language, and one is often left in considerable doubt as to which of two or more likely Sanskrit words is the original of any particular tadbhara in Telugu.

88. THE KANARESE ALPHABET.

(a) Kanarese sounds.—In his Kanarese grammar Dr. Kittel, following the works of previous Indian gram-

Canda III-12 Prathamasya friiyah.
 Canda III-11. Prathamadoitiyayör doitiyacaturthau.

The letter I was in extensive use formerly but both r and I have fallen into complete disuse in modern times, Dr. Kittel has, however, introduced them in his Kannada-English Dictionary as he thought "that without them, Kannada and its language cannot be understood. Dr. Kittel also says in the Preface to his Dictionary "True Kannada has no aspirated consonants except in a few imitative sounds although in later years through Brahmanical influence they have crept into writings and certain circles of society; unaspirated consonants have therefore been substituted wherever the aspirated were not sanctioned by grammar." Similarly the dental s has been substituted for the palatal spirant s in all true Kannaga words and in tadhhavas. Acting on these principles he has divided the Kannada vocabulary into two main divisions-true Kannada and Sanskrit derivatives-exhibiting the former in bolder type than the latter in his Dictionary,

(b) Uncertain orthography.—Notwithstanding these emendations the Dictionary exhibits uncertainty in regard to the initial mute of a considerable number of words as to whether the initial is to be a tenuis or a media. The following are a few instances of such uncertainty out of those that have been noted:—

gey, key 'to perform, do.' geleya, keleya 'a companion, friend.'

gorke, kunke 'the throat,'
gatfu, kaffu 'a bank, shore.'
giru, kiru 'to scrape.'
gudi, kudi (1) 'a flag,' (2) 'a circle.'
gunu, kunu 'a hump.'
gude, kule 'a basket.'
dumbi, tumbi 'a crowd, a mass.'
dumbi, tumbi, dumbe, tumbe, 'a large black bee.'
dofu, tumbi 'inmp, pass over.'
diddu, tiffu 'an eminence, elevation.'
dani, tani 'to grow fatigued.'

It is not clear whether all or any of the alternative forms are more provincialisms, or whether they have been admitted into the language at different periods of its history. It is probable that, as in Telugu, there was a period when there were only tenues, no mediae, in Kanarese. The following Kanarese words may be mentioned as unmistakable instances in which tenues have been substituted for the mediae of Sanskrit words:

- 1. K. taddu, daddu < S. dadru * a cutaneous disease,
- 2. K. tenkana < daksina " southern "
- 3. K. titti, tidi < S. drti 'a pair of bellows."
- K. pubbu, purbu, hubbu < S. bhrū, bhruva < 'the eye brow.'

Another peculiarity of Kanarese is that a number of words beginning with ca have alternative forms beginning with ce: a few examples may be mentioned here;

cakke, cekke 'a fragment.'
candu, cendu 'a ball to play with.'
cadaru, cedaru, kedaru' to scatter.'
cambu, cembu 'the red metal.'
catti cetti 'an carthen pot.'
canda, cenda 'beautiful.'

This reminds one of the rule of Tolkäppiyam that no Tamil words should begin with ca, the result of which was that several Sanskrit tadhhara words in Tamil which would otherwise have begun with ca were written with the initial ca.

- (c) Telugu and Kanarese scripts are traceable to a common original which is derived from South Asokan.
 - 89. SPIRANTAL PRONUNCIATION OF SINGLE TENUIS IN TAMIL IN CERTAIN POSITIONS.
 - (a) Bishop Caldwell notices the absence of symbols for mediac in Tamil and thinks that according to the phonetic laws of the language surds and sonants are mutually convertible into one another and that our character serves for both these sounds.
- "This rule" he says, "does not apply merely to the written characters of the language, but it the expression of a law of sound which is inherent in the language itself.
- "There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects; but it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayalam. The law, as apparent in the Tamil-Malayalam system of sounds, is as follows: k, f, t, p, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth ranger, are always pronounced as tenues or surds (i.e., as k, f, t, p) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (i.e., as g, d, d, b) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, wither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law, and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as

Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or vice versa, according to their position, e.g., dunta, Sans. 'a tooth', becomes in Tamil tuntam; Sans. bhāgya, 'happiness,' becomes pākkiyam.

"A similar rule applies to the pronounciation of c or.

\$ (the Tamil c), the first consonant of the second varga."

Bishop Caldwell states that the sonants of the surds k, c, f, t, p are g, j, d, d, b respectively and does indeed recognise that the values of intervocal k and single c are not those of the English g and j but of the Trish gh and the Sanskrit j which are guttural and palatal spirants. The pronounciation of k, c, as g, j in Tamil occurs only after nasals and Bishop Caldwell's law of 'The convertibility of surds and sonants' falls even according to his own showing in the case of these two consonants. It will be shown presently that it also fails in the case of p.

(b) Sounds now uctually heard in speech. Single non-initial k, c and p are never pronounced now like g, j, b, in common speech and though single non-initial f and t generally have the sounds of d and d there are indications to show that their pronunciation was different formerly. The name melligam given to nasals would seem to indicate that non-initial k, c, f, t, p were perhaps once sounded as mediac only when combined with nasals and that in other cases they were pronounced spirantally. The actual sounds heard now are as follows:

The letters k, t, p at the beginning of words and these same doubled as kk, tt, pp in the middle of words are pronounced hard like tennes; k and p are also sounded hard in the conjunct consonants fk, rk, pp, rp. A single t in the middle of words whether intervocal or preceded by p, r, n or l is generally pronounced like a media. The letter k is sounded like g after n, n and p and the letter p is sounded like b after p, m,

and p; In other cases however k whiether intervocal or preorded by j, r, l, l or l is pronounced like a deep guttural spirant—something like ch in lsch; and p whether intervocal or preceded by j, r, l, l or l is pronounced somewhat like the English f. It has been considered unnecessary, however, to have separate characters for these sounds and they are represented by k and p. The letter c is never sounded like a palatal tennis except when doubled or preceded by the consonants f or l; When preceded by the l it is pronounced like l; in all other cases whether at the beginning of words or in their middle it is pronounced like the palatal spirant l. The character for l is never sounded hard except when doubled as l in all other cases it is sounded like l.

On a careful consideration of the available facts it would seem that the original tendency was to sound non-initial tenues like mediac, only when in combination with nasals and to pronounce non-initial single k, ε, f, t, p as spirants. The spirants corresponding to guttural, palatal and labial tenues are sounded without difficulty and these sounds still hold the ground, c coming to have the spirantal sound even initially, The following are some of the examples, pakal 'a day'; toka 'a tail'; akil 'aquilaria agolfocha '; tey-kiratu 'it does '; ciru 'small'; kacappu 'bitterwess'; varuparan 'lu who comes'; marpu 'the chest'; malpu 'nature' which are pronounced as bahal, tohai, ahil, Seyhiradu Siru, kasappu, varufavan, milrfu, iyalfu. The form ahil is imbedded in the Hebrew ahilom ahiloth occurring in the proverbs in the Old Testament and must be as old as the 5th or the 4th century B. C. Intervocal single p has, in consequence of this spirantal pronunciation, been replaced by a except in a very few instances; there are special reasons for its retention in the few forms in which it is retained and here it is sounded like f :- as irapata 'twenty'; arapata 'sixty'; elupatu 'seventy' etc.; the forms iruvatu, aguvatu, elusatu are more common. The spirant of t appears to be more

difficult to pronounce and it has in consequence come to be sounded like the class media d'although one occasionally hears the spirantal sound as in 'seybal', 'doing', pobal' 'going' rarubal' coming'.

The spirant of f appears to be the most difficult to sound and this is probably the reason why f is pronounced as ϕ except when doubled; but the attempt to pronounce it spirantally has converted it in very many cases into f which next to f, appears to be the nearest approach to a cerebral spirant. Example:—

- S. kafakam 'a house, abode '
- kalakam 'a house of assembly'.
- (ii) S. petakalı 'a box'
- pēļņi. pīļai
- (iii) S. pldo 'pain, annoyance, agony '
- přl+i.
- (iv) S. pld to pain, tor-
- (v) S. ndqī, ndqi-kā 'a measure of time equal to twenty-four minutes'
- nāļi, nāļi-kai.
- (vi) S, nddi 'a tube, a tubular vessel '
- nolli 'a measure of capacity originally made of the bollow joint of bamboo'.

Páli has milika in the sense of a measure of capacity

(vii) S, astekan (1) 'any group of eight'

alakku.

(2) 'the eighth part'

dlakku—'the 8th part of one measure '.

>Pkt. āṣṭak, 'compare'
S. aṣṭa 'eight'> āth in Hindi.

in compensation for, as equivalent to '

(ix) S. edakalı 'a ram, a wild goat '

(x) S. jatih 'clotted hair'

(xi) S. muthih, "the post to which cattle are tied when threshing corn .

K. mēti ' plough-tail'.

(xii) S. garadah 'the Brahminy kite "

(xiii) S. bhattarakah 'a common name for a temple deity'.

(xiv) S. elidikah having a lock of hair on the crown of the head

(xv) S. kapardikā 'a small shell or cowry '.

Hindi, kaudi, Marathi &c.

(xvi) S. tadituln 'possessing tadit or lightning, a cloud

(viii) S. pati (instead); pati > pali requital, amends, revenge '.

2lakam.

celi-yan 'having clotted hair' (c.f. cataiyan) 'a name frequently occurring in the list of Pandya kings'. mili ' the plough '.

kalulan.

patarar, palarar, (Malayalam)

coliyar 'a class of people having a crown-tuft'

celi 'a small cowry '.

kanudi.

elili 'a cloud' literally possessing dil'. Tulu tedil, sedil, H. sidil 'lightning, thunder '

The above are all instances of intervocal t or d having been transformed into !; a large number of examples will

be found elsewhere in this book in which the final consonants f or d undergo the same transformation.

It may be remarked in passing that f, \hat{I}, \hat{J} of Indo-Aryan words are often converted into \hat{I} in Tamil and that it is questionable whether there are many Tamil words in which the sound \hat{I} is original.

90. THE OFF-GLIDE OR FINAL ENUNCIATIVE VOWEL IN DRAVIDIAN WORDS.

(a) Practice in different dialects. In most Dravidian languages there is a tendency to pronounce a short vowel after every final consonant.

Telugu. This rule is absolute in Telugu where no word can end in a consonant except rarely in poetry. For this reason all Telugu verbal bases end in su which is put in solely for purposes of enunciation; for it disappears before the initial vowels of suffixes, and when a suffix begins in a consonant which is capable of combining with the last consonant of the base, the final-u disappears, sometimes optionally, so as to allow this combination to take place. Examples:—

Conjunctive participles. kottu+i=kotti 'having beaten'.

do nadacu+i=nadaci having walked '

Imperative. cēyu+i+cu=cēyiācu * cause to be done *.

Present participle. koftu+tun=koffutun beating .

do. naducu+tun= naducutun nadustun 'walking'.

do. cēyu+tun cēyutun, cēstun 'doing'.

Kanarese. In Kanarese there is now no verbal theme which ends in a consonant, all roots which in Old Kanarese

ended in consonants having had affixed to them an enunciative a which disappears before suffixes, beginning with vowels. All nominal bases which in Old Kanarese ended in a consonant now generally appear with a suphonic final -a or -i.

Tamil. Tamil is not so particular in regard to the final short vowel of consonantal endings and its grammar says that Tamil words can end in the consonants a, n, n, m, v, y, r, l; v, I, I; but a short -u is heard after every final k, c, t, t, p, r whether these consonants are pronounced as tennes or like mediae as they usually are after nasals. This -ù is what the grammarians call kurrukaram 'short û ' which has only onefourth the quantity of a long vowel, the rule being that the final -u is short in every word ending in ku, cu, tu, tu, pu ru, if the word consists of more than two syllables or has in it a long vowel or a conjunct consonant. This stands to reason, for where, as in the Dravidian languages, the normal accent falls on the first syllable of a word then the final -a is necessarily short in all words consisting of more than two syllables or having a long syllable. This short -w disappears before suffixes and words beginning with vowels,1

Including this short $\cdot \hat{u}$ among vowels we may say that verbal bases in Tamil may end in any vowel except e and in any consonant except k, e, f, t, p, r, u. It follows from this that all short \hat{u} verbal bases in Tamil are practically consonantal bases, as this short \hat{u} disappears before suffixes beginning with vowels. For a similar reason all Telugu verbal bases with a few exceptions may be regarded as consonantal bases.

The grammatical rule as to short û has in modern times to be extended so as to include such words as entu.
 think ', ellu ' disregard ', avôtu ' desire.'

Malayalam. Bishop Caldwell says:—"In Malayalam, a short a sometimes replaces the short a of Tamil. Dr. Gundert considers this a peculiarity of the Malayalam of Cochin and Syrian Christians. Foreigners who are led more by the written sign than by the spoken sound, have often, he says, been led to regard this letter as a. The short a of Tamil is still further shortened in Northern Malayalam, so that in the Northern districts it is not written at all, but a small circle or a dot merely over the letter is used to express this sound. The same usage prevails still more extensively in Tulu in which the pronunciation of this a is still more like the Hebrew shear." (C. D. G. p. 18).

Mr. Seshagiri Prabhu in his Malayālam Grammar (Vyākaranāmṛtam S. 46) says that the final short a is usually pronounced as abort a. He adds that the final -a of Sanskrit words and of finite verbs in the present and the past tense is a full a while the final -a of present and past participles is short.

The remark of Dr. Caldwell that the off-glide it is represented in some places not by the symbol for u, but by a small circle or a dot over the final consonant is worthy of note.

(b) The generic of the Tamil kurrivalukaram or short n. It is well known that in most of the Aryan venaculars of Northern India the final short vowel, specially short α, of words of two or more syllables is generally quiescent. This will be obvious from well-known names of great persons familiar to everybody such as Kêšava Candra Sêna, Râma Môhana Râya which are pronounced Kêşab Candar Sên and Râm Môhan Rôy.

Words like kaluka(h) 'pungency', lōka(h) 'the world etc., as shown in the statement below will be pronounced in the north as kaluk, lōk, etc., and will become kaluku, (u) luku etc., in Tamil,

Sanskrit.	Intermediate.	Tamil.
kafukam 'a compound	kaluk	hatuku
of ginger, black and		'mustard'
longer pepper'		
katukah pungency		
lokah 'the world !	15k	ulaku,
rajan 'a king '	raf	aracu.
rājaķ		
akşah 'an axle'	acch	accu.
amātyah.		
Pāli Prāk, amaccō 'a mini	ster, amaco	атасси,
a king's counsellor	1	
śakajam 'a cart'	enkat	cakatu.
kapatam 'fraud, trick '	kapat	kavatu.
datah 'a messenger '	dat	tūtu.
dyillam 'gambling'	jūt	ctitu.
vadah 'dispute, contro-	pdd	vāju,
versy '		
vikalpah option, alterna-	vikalp	vikar pu.
tive*		
r@pam ' form, figure "	rap	urupu, uruvu, uru.
valoyali 'a bracelet'	valay	valai.
kuvalayam 'a blue lotus '	kwalay	hwalai
niram 'water'	nīr	nir.
samarah 'battle '	samar	amar.
tuvarah 'astringency'	tuvar.	twar.
kēraļah i name of a	kēraļ	ceral.
dynasty *		-
analah ' fire '	anal	aval ' the heat of
		fire."
balah (1) 'a tail'	bal	(1) Tam. vd/.
oolah (2) hair '	vál	(2) Mal, val,
mālah 'Visnu'	mat	mal.

Sanskrit.	Intermediate.	Tannil.
sthand 'a post, a pillar '	than	I
aranam ' a refuge '	aran	aran 'a stronghold'.
arana ' not fighting '		aranmagai 'a forti- fied house'.
minah 'a fish '	min	miy.
idhmah 'fuel, especially		Ima-p-parankātu a
that used for sacred		burning ground.
purposes, as on func-	William .	im1 the burning
ral occasions, etc.		ground.
karma(n) 'action, labour,	THE	kam.3
work '		militario and a

The tabular statement above brings out in a marked manner the difference already pointed out between Telugu and Tamil. In Telugu all final consonants require a short vowel while in Tamil it is only final mutes that require it:—thus, the Tamil nir 'water', and twar 'astringency' exist as nire and togara in Telugu. All the Tamil words shown in the last column as requiring a final a end or should end in mutes in the Indo-Aryan vernacular and the speakers of these languages experience no difficulty in pronouncing these mutes as finals. Thus even an illiterate Marātha when he means 'all the world' Sans. sarvah lökah says sab lök and the off-glide, if any, in the two words sab and lök is almost imperceptible. But sab is impossible according to the rules of Tamil grammar and lök becomes olaku in popular Tamil, equivalent to (u) laku of literary Tamil.

Having regard to the present practice in Indo-Aryan vernaculars, it would seem that in Tamil mute endings had at first only a slightly perceptible off-glide and that since this glide began to be marked in writing it has gradually

These two words are found in Tolkappiyam (I. Pulli, i. 33).

increased in quantity to half that of a short a. The remarks quoted above, that the short a of Tamil is still further shortened in Nothern Malayalam and is not written at all in some parts of the West coast, lend support to this supposition.

It is also possible that this off-glide was not marked at all originally and that there was nothing to distinguish it from a consonantal ending. The Tolkappiyam rules in regard to this matter are as follows:—

'All final consonants should be marked with dots'
(I Pupar, 2)

They say that the short is is of the same nature (Ibid. 3).

The second rule may be taken to mean that the off-glide was not to be distinguished from a consonant but commentators have understood the rule differently.

We have to remember that the off-glide is is not now written in the northern districts of Malabar and in Tulu and was not marked in some mute endings quoted by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.

The very existence of kurriyalukaram in Tamil appears to indicate that a very large number of Indo-Aryan forms with mute endings were adopted in Tamil which the Dravidians found it difficult to pronounce without a perceptible off-glide-

Of course even a normal final $\cdot u$ in a long word will become thortened when the accent is shifted to the first syllable. But why should the grammatical rule associate this final u with the tenues k, c, f, t, p, r, to the exclusion of other finals? This fact shows that the genesis of the harrivalukaram is not to be sought for in a shifting of the accent but in an off-glide necessary in pronouncing final mutes.

^{1.} Meystru ellam pulli-y-atu nilaiyai (1. Punur. 2). Kurriya lukaramu marrena molipa (Ibid. 3).

- 91. CHANGE OF THE FINAL MUTES I, d,r,f, d INTO |, 8, 1,8, 1 IN TAMIL WORDS.
- (a) Alternative to the off-glide. Sometimes the final mute of Tamil words undergoes a change if it happens to be a dental, a cerebral or alveolar and no enunciative it is added. Then t and d become one of I, n or I which have very nearly the same place of articulation as themselves; while t, d and r will be changed into I or n which have nearly the same place of articulation as themselves. Thus matu "cattle", patu "ruin", 'loss', iruttu 'darkness', poruttu 'a thing of importance may appear as mal (a dialectic form) pal, irut and porut while ettu 'eight' may appear as en without any enunciative is or off-glide.
- (b) A living rule in Malayalam. Some Sanskrit words and compounds used in Malayalam end in -t, or have -t-or -das the final letter of the first member of the compound and these letters are sounded like / in that language. Thus the Sanskrit ad-, ud- (a prefix), tad, mad etc., in adbhutam 'wonderful ', utsāham ' energy ', tātparyam ' design, object ', camatkāram surprise', gadgadem 'stammering, faltering' etc., are pronounced al, ul, tal, mal, gal, albhutam, ulsöham, talparyam, camalkāram, galgadam, etc., in Malayālam. Some of these compounds exist also in Tamil, but here t and d are replaced by r when they happen to be the final letters of the first members of compounds as in or pulam, (adbhutam) 'wonderful', Parpandpan (Padmanabhan) 'a proper name', tagkālam (tatkālam) 'that time', murkam (mudgam) 'a kind of pulse'. So also Marut 'a storm God', jagat' the world, tamat' therefore ', gurumukhat 'from the mouth of the teacher' are pronounced Marul, jazal, taimil, gurumukhal. Similarly final -d has the sound of -1; thus sad 'six', madbulid 'a bee', parivrad an ascetic', are pronounced sal, madhulil, parivrôl in Malayalam. Sanskrit words ending in t, d, t or d are not now in use in Tamil

This change of t and d into t and r is an indication that their sounds were not originally dental but alveolar.

We know that even among the Vedic Aryans there was a tendency to pronounce d as I and I. Thus the word idd the earth, speech appeared also in the form ild; and in the first line of the first verse of the Rg-Veda ' againstle purchitam' · I praise Agni the priest', the followers of the Rg-Vedz pronounced the as the. A similar tendency now rendered very general is in full operation in Malayalam, a late off-shoot from Tamil, and gives us a most important clue as to the original form of a large number of Dravidian words which now end in l, l, l, s, s. We are in the habit of regarding these finals as original and of supposing that kel ' wind', porul a thing of importance ' irul 'darkness night'. pal, waste', man 'mud, earth', pan 'a song', are the original forms of words and that karry, porutty, irutty, patu, matti, patty, etc. having the same significations are derived from them by the addition of the suffix -fu or -fi. But the above living tendency in Malayalam raises the presumption that the finals 1, 1, 1, n, s may in a large number of cases have been derived from t, d, r, t, d; and this presumption is greatly strengthened when the Dravidian words having the above finals are compared with the corresponding Indo-Aryan words having the same meaning. The theory submitted by the present writer for the consideration of scholars is that in the vast majority of cases these finals are secondary, and have taken the place of the original dental, alveolar and cerebral mutes.

- (c) The following examples will illustrate this alternative change of finals when the enunciative u is not added.
- (i) Tamil and Malayalam. mel, men 'soft'; mella 'slow'; mirutu, metu 'soft, quiet. slow'. Kanarese medu, mel, mella, mellane.

The Satskrit adjective mrdu 'soft, quiet, slow' may become mirudu by the insertion of a glide vowel (svarabhakti) or midu by the conversion of f into e; both these words are in use in Tamil. But metu, may lose the final u, and be converted into mel, men, by change of the final t into to n. Example:—mellinam, menkanam 'soft kind'—grammatical names for mediae; menpul'soft kind' a literary word for 'soft cultivable ground' which is also called marutam in Old Tamil; mella mella-p-ponan' be went slowly'. The Kanarese lexicographer Dr. F. Kittel and the Malayāļam lexicographer Dr. Gundert recognise that mel is a tadhhaua if the Sanskrit mrdu.

The oscillation of the final between l and n should be noted; l appears before vowels and n before tenues—as in mellinam 'soft kind,' melleluttu 'soft letter'; menpal, menkanam 'soft kind.' The same oscillation is seen in the Tamil and Malayalam val, san 'hard, strong,' derived from the Sanskrit balam 'strength, force'; vallinam, vankanam 'strong class (of consonants)' i.e., tenues:—valleluttu 'a strong letter or sound, a tenue'; vanpal 'hard kind (of ground)'.

Similar oscillations are observable between I and 8 in the following couplets (a) vel, ves 'white,' (b) val, vas 'generous', (c) ol, on 'shining,' (d) tel, ten, 'clear, pure,' (e) el, en (l) 'sesamum' (2) 'light, of little value,' (f) natural, nos 'middle.'

(ii) Tamil, Malayāļam and Kanarese: mel 'to masticate, chew'; medi, midi 'tread, grind.'

The Sanskrit root mrd (v. tr.) 'tread or grind' has become mal and mal in Prakrt. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, it has produced the root mid-i 'tread' and mel 'masticate, grind' (with the teeth); the latter form has been produced by a process of corruption similar to what we have noticed in the adjective mel 'soft' from Sanskrit mrdu 'soft'. Dr. Gundert recognises that these forms are tadbhavar of the Sanskrit root mrd.

(iii) Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese man; Tclugu and Kanarese matti; Tclugu man, mannu; all meaning 'mud.

The Sanskrit mrd 'mud, clay' takes the termination to and kā and becomes mritikā 'mud.' This becomes mailiyā and also maili (losing the suffix) in Telugu having the same meaning; the word maili 'mud' exists also in Tamil and Kanarese. The original Sanskrit word mrd must by an analogy become mad or mail which change into man in Tamil, Kanarese and Malayālam and into man mannu in Telugu, all meaning 'mud' Dr. Kittel recognise, that Kanarese maili is derived from Sanskrit mrd' mud.'

(iv) Tamil, Malayalam tin, tinniya 'strong, stout, firm,' tidam, tif pam 'firmness'; Kanarese dida, duda, 'strong stout, firm.'

The Sanskrit drdha 'strong, firm,' gives rise to the Tamil-Malayalam tidam, dida, duda by the mere change of f, into i or n. Deprived of the final a it should become tif in Tamil, but as Tamil words cannot end in tenues, it is converted into tin. The word tinna exists also in Kanarese where it also means 'largeness, greatness, excessiveness' which senses are also inherent in the Sanskrit 'drdha.'

- (v) Tamil and Malayālam: cimil 'a casket' 'a little round box.' The Sanskrit sampufa having the same meaning exists as computam in Tamil but when it loses its final a it becomes cimil which passes for a pure Tamil word. No Tamil word can begin with ca.
- (vi) So has the Sanskrit 'dramida' or 'drāvida (Prākrt damida) become tamil.
 - 92, Sanserit words shortened or otherwise altered in tamil in consequence of a shift of accent to the first syllable.
- (a) Tamil words generally accented on the first syllable.

It is generally stated that the Dravidian languages are destitute of accent; but as pointed out by Bishop Caldwell these languages do possess an accent which is upon the first syllable of every word. This is specially so in the case of Tamil. Of course when a speaker has to emphasise a particular idea or to lay stress upon a particular mode of action he has to modulate the voice so as to emphasise syllables other than the first; there is also a class of verbs in Tamil-Malavalam in which the final vowel has to be stressed for the purpose of indicating that the verb is used transitively or causatively. Omitting these exceptional cases we may say generally that in ordinary Tamil speech the pitch of the voice is highest on the first syllable of every word and gradually falls till the last syllable has the lowest pitch; the result of this is that the final syllables of all words are slurred over. It has therefore happened that many words of three or more syllables borrowed from Sanskrit appear in an exceedingly curtailed form in Tamil. In several of the illustrative examples given below it is only the Prakrtic corruptions of Sanskrit words that have thus been further shortened in Tamil; but it is thought unnecessary to distinguish such cases here.

-			- 4		-	
S	200	*	in 8	-		
-	us.		20	•		ъ.

1. pārāvatah 'a dove '

vraileya 'relating to paddy.'

3. nivarah 'wild paddy '

4. taist 'name of a month'

mārgašīrsī do.

6. anuși do.

7. vanišah 'the bamboo'

8. apavarakah 's room partitioned off'

Tamil.

puravu, purā, prā (vulgar). pai ' paddy stalks,'

nel ' the paddy plant, paddy grain.'

tar.

markali.

āņi.

Dey.

Mal: pura 'a room.'

Sanskrit.

Tamil,

9. parisil ' practise '

10. martya(m) the body Pkt, macca(m)

kārya(m) 'action'
 Pkt. kacca(m).

pākya(m) to be cooked or matured pacya(m) uncooked, immature, therefore green.

13. vandhyō * a barren woman *

14. bhastra 'a leathern bag' pātrikaḥ 'a vessel, cup' pracitih, pracih 'a hoard.' Pāli: pacci 'a collection, a bag.' payil 'practise, do again and again.' mey 'the body.' mai 'birth, incarnation.' kai 'action.'

pai 'green.'

mai 'barren.' Mal. mace.

pai 'a bag."

These examples are all dealt with elsewhere.

(b) Initial i or af often replaced by e and initial u and au by o.

In Sanskrit, the vowel gradations are:—(i) i. u. (2) e, e; (3) ai, au. Indo-Germanic philologists have demonstrated that of these e and o constitute the natural stage and that they are transformed to i, u in less accented syllables, while ai, au represent the highest grade. The semi-vowe's y and o occupy the same position as e and o and become i and u in less accented syllables; this change of the semi-vowels into the lowest grade vowels is called Saniprasūraņa.

As the highest pitch in a word is generally on the first syllable in Tamil, it has happened that all words in which the vowel of the first syllable was i or u in Sanskrit or in Old Tamil now exhibit s or a in the speech of the people; thus ikal (v. tr.) 'despise,' icaivu 'agreement,' itam 'a place,' n akkam 'endship,' itam 'agreeableness,' inām 'a reward,' imai (v. intr.) 'wink the eye,' iyal 'nature,' ilai 'a leaf,' kukai 'a cave,' kucavan 'a potter,' kuṭam 'a pot,' kuṇam 'quality,' cumai 'a load,' curai 'a kind of gourd,' pulampu (v. intr.) 'weep,' kwaļai 'a lily 'are pronounced in the ordinary speech of the people a : ekal, ešaivu, edam, enakkam, e am, eṇām, emai, ēṛkaṇavē, elai, kokai, kosavan, koṭam, koṇam, śomai, śoṛai, polambu, kovaļai. Similarly the first vowels of Indo-Aryan words if they happen to be ai or au are changed into e or u in their t alsama forms in Tamil.

(c) Initia i vya s very often replaced by w and vice versa.

Sanskrit.

Tamil.

- 1. vyäghrah 'a tiger '
- 2. vydlah ' a vicious animal,'
- 3. vyaparah trade!
- 4. Tel.

 bēda

 a two anna
 piece.'
- vyangah 'deformed, deficient, a cripple.'
- 6. vyarthikah 'useless,
- 7. cyayah 'loss, expendi-

vēlai' a tiger,'
vēla(m) 'an elephant'
vēpāram 'trade,'
pēram 'bargaining,'
vēlai' work, business,'

Kanarese Dialect: byūta ta silver coin' (vide specimen of Gölari L. S. Vol. IV).

venk(an) ' a pauper.'

vett(i) 'uscless.'

Tel: nece(amu) 'expenditure.'

100	30	
25.00	Tr. 0.1	krit.
-52/15	AAD9	A-1-1-1-1

Tamil.

B. vyañ janam	'scasoning'	veñçan (am)
9. tyavasā sah	'agricul-	vecaca y(am)
ture 2		

ture.

nyasana 'misfortune, secan (am) 'grief,'

Sometimes the presence o a y in a word converts the first vowel a into e.

11. anya 'other, different' enai'other.'

12. kaiya(m) 'morning' kela-k-ku 'the east.'

13. paryasta 'turned upside perattu (v. tr.) 'turn upside.' perat (v. intr.) 'down.'

14. samyak 'fully, accurately, cemmai, cevrai 'good conwell' dition, welfare,'

15. samaya 'opportunity, fit sever 'opportunity, fit time.'

The words vyāpāra and pēram now express the business of traders involving only sale or change of goods; but the first of them vyāpāra originally connoted the general idea of business including offices under Government. Thus in the Old Pallava Prākṛt inscriptions the word vāpata (<vyāpṛta) referred to officers employed by the king in his service.

The word vētai which is only another form of bera and which now means 'an office, work, business,' thus appears to be derived from vyāpāra.

Sivakhandavammo dhannakade väpatam änapayati (E. I., Vol. VI., p. 86). Sans: Sivaskandavarmā dhānya-kafake vyāprtam ājāāpayati. Eng.: Sivaskandavarama commands the officer in Dhānyakaṭaka."

The Telugu bēda and the Kanarese byāta, which are merely other forms of the Tamil vyālam, both mean "silver coin" or in Tamil velli-k-kācu. It would thus seem that the Tamil word for Thursday has the same meaning as the Tamil name for Friday, viz., velli, (suitable names for the brightest heavenly bodies next to the moon) words are traceable to the Sanskrit śvitra(m) and śvaitra(m) "whiteness."

The word renkan is used to indicate a pauper, humorously, in popular speech,

Paryasta had become patath, patat in some Prakrts (H.G. G.S. 143).

(d) Va in an initial conjunct often changes to e.

Sanskrit. Tamil.

kvath 'boil' ke-ti (v. intr.) 'boil'

śvānaka 'a dog' cōṇańki 'a kind of dog.'

dhvani 'sound' 'toṇi'

jvara 'fever' coram

jvat (v. intr.) 'shine, burn' coti.

(e) Samprasāraņa. On the other hand ya and va at the end of words where the pitch of the voice is lowest are converted into i and u. Thus tra and ya the conjunctive participle suffixes of classical Sanskrit which became tu and i in Prākṛt are also in use in Dravidian. In the following words final -ya has been changed to -i in Tamil:—(i) Pāndya name of a dynasty,' (2) kanya na unmarried girl' (3) sandhyā time of twilight,' (4) vefyā a harlot,' (5) hatyā slaughter,' (6) Ahalyā, a proper name,' (7) vandhyā a barren woman have become (1) Pānfi, (2) kanni (3) cantisanti (4) vēci, (5) atti, (6) Akali, (7) vanti.

This change called Samprasāraņa has produced various forms in Sanskrit which appear to have their counter-parts in Tamil words of Sanskritic origin; but it is difficult to say whether the changes took place in Sanskrit itself, before the words were borrowed in Tamil or after the adoption of the words in Tamil. For instance the roots yaj (v. tr.) 'sacrifice and vac (v. tr.) 'speak,' vap (v.tr.) 'sow,' var (v. intr.) 'shine,' var (v. intr.) 'dwell,' have the past participles passives ista, ukta, upta, usta or usita and verbal nouns isti, ukti, upti, usti. In these cases the accents in Sanskrit being on the suffixes -ta and -ti, the initial ya- and va- of the roots have undergone Samprasāraņa. Similarly and for similar reasons in the perfect the original re-duplicated bases yayaj, vavac etc., assume the forms iya, uvac, tj (Hi), üc (u üc).

Certain Tamil words like urul (v. intr.) "roll" and fill (v. intr.) come round appear to be derived from the reduplicated bases varvart, vavart, which, when rt is changed to ft, would assume the forms varvatt, vavatt. These last by the Samprasarana of the v's appear to have become uruft ust (aft) and ultimately urul, üt. It is best to regard the Samprasarana to have taken place in Sanskrit itself where the accent was on the terminations,

- NORTH-WESTERN CHARACTERISTIC IN DRAVIDIAN WORDS, ESPECIALLY TAMIL WORDS DERIVED FROM IN O-ARYAN.
- Sir G. A. Grierson divides the modern Aryan vernaculars of India into two classes with reference to their mode of treatment of the double consonants in the Apabhramsa words which they have inherited.

"It is a commonplace of the history of all Indo-Aryan languages, that the various Präkrts from which they are derived are full of words containing double consonants. As an example we can take the Sanskrit bhaktah 'cooked

^{1.} L. S., Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 237-8,

rice ' which becomes bhattu with a double tt in Apabhramsa Prakrt. In most of the modern Indo-Arvan vernaculars (especially in West Hindi and Gujarāti) these double letters are simplified by the rejection of one of them and the preceding vowed is lengthened in compensation. Thus almost universally bhattu is represented in modern languages by bhat. But in the Lahnda and Panjabi this is not the case. The double letter is retained and the preceding vowel remains short. In Sindhi and the Dardic languages and sometimes in Lahadā the compound is, it is true, simplified, but the preceding vowel almost always remains short. There is no compensatory lengthening. Thus Sindhi has bhatu, not bhôtu and the Dardic Kashmiri bata not bâta. This absence of compensatory lengthening is a most important distinction between the Aryan languages of the North-West, and those of the rest of India. It separates them at once as two definitely distinct groups. In the North-West a double letter is either preserved or is simplified without affecting the preceding yowel. In the rest of India it is nearly always simplified and the preceding vowel is then always lengthened".

Of the twenty-one words given by Sir G. A. Grierson in illustration, the following eleven occur in Tamil also.

Sanskrit. Pañjābi Sindhī. West-Tamil.

Hindī.

(i) bhaktam¹ bhatt bhatu bhat pattu boiled rice¹

patam the state of being boiled'

In the Tamil country vessels to which boiled rice or other cooked foodstuffs are adhering are regarded as ceremonially impure and are called pattu vessels; the name

SYG 93] N. W. CHARACTERISTIC IN DRAVIDIAN

S		Star W	Sindhī.	West- Hindi.	Tamil.
(ii)	uccakah ' high '	uced	MCU.	Acā	the grown of the head
(iii)	<i>Sabdaḥ</i> ' a sound	sadd.		sad	cattem ' a sound '
(iv)	cakram¹ 'n wheel'	cakk	eāku	eak	cekku 'oilman's wheels'
(v)	śuskakah 'dry'	sukkhā	sukō	s a kha	eukku 'dried ginger'
(vi)	carma* skin	camm	samu	сат	cemmün ! leather worker !
		14-	podre podre ložine		T. ceruppu 'sandals' also in Mal. Kan. and Telugu.

pattu being usually explained as being due to the circumstance that cooked things 'adhere' (parru) to the vessel.

The word patam is usually taken to be the same as the Sanskrit padam meaning 'station, place, position' and is usually understood to mean 'proper condition' in the phrase sorru-p-patam' the extent to which food has been softened by boiling.

The explanation of pattu and patam given in the last column above is new.

 According to Tolkappiyam no Tamil word can begin with ca.

"slaked lime."
Tel. sunnamu "lime
used with betel"

Sanskrit.	Pañjābī	Sindhī.	West-	Tamil.
			Hindi.	
(vii) karnah1	kann	kanu	kān	kan the 7th
an car'				case post-posi-
				tion.
(viii) karma	kamm	kamu	kām	
		vanin	Kum	kām work, em-
an action				ployment "
				kammiyar
				workmen *
(ix) raktakah	ratta	ratō	rātā	(i) rattam
red ?				blood *
(x) prstham2	pitth	puthi	pith	
the back		June in	Para.	puttam the
THE STRUKE				the mape of
				the neck.
(xi) darbhah	dabbh	dābhu	ratt	The state of the s
		даоли	dabh	turumbu 'a
a kind of		21 22		straw *
All the elev	en words	show the	characteri	istic of the North-
Western group.				
The following	ng list of	additional	words m	ay be given.
Sanskrit.		Actual or p		Dravidian.
		bable Prak		APANY IGAINME
		form.	198	
1. cürnakah		NAME:	T.	
Se sur Granatic		eunno	180	сиппатри

DOWCE .

Api karns in Sanskrit means 'near', 'close to'; so
the Tamil kan has been taken to be related to the S. karnah.
It may also be taken as related to the Tel. kada 'side
proximity.'

Pitari in literary Tamil is ciru puram "small back" and is obviously a diminutive form like the Indo-Aryan pagri "a turban" (from the Hindi pag) and tukadi "small bit" (from the S. Stoka).

Actual or pro-Sanskrit. Dravidian. bable Prakrt form. 2. vyakhyanakah vakkhano vakkanai. 'commentary' * preliminary superfluous words, explanation. vakkanai, vakkane, vakkana. 3. kilsthakah katto T. kattai ' wood fire-"wood, forest" wood '; kātu 'a forest' also in Kan, and Tcl. 4. kāsthakah kattho katai. Kan. "limit" katta, kuta, kade hada Tel. end, limit." 5. arghakah aggho Tel. aggava cheap-' price, value, ness Kan. agga, cheapness ' hagga. (1) worth, value, 'cheapness' Tam. akkam 'grain' arghyakah aggho 'saleable objects' 6. vargakah T. vakai; K. bage paggo * class, kind * 'a class, kind.' 7. vijāap ' cause to pinnan T. vinnap(pam), K hear, inform' binna, binnappa Tel.; vinnafiba, 'a petition.' T. Dingun. wind (v, tr.) 'enquire, question."

DRAVIDIAN THEORIES

Sanskrit, Actual or pro-Dravidian. bable Prakrt form. 8. vistih 'labour **** vetti(větsi) 'unpaid rendered to labour'. Government without hire ' 9 usnakah 'heat' unho una(nku) 'be dried " wia(kku) 'to dry' unar, ular 'to dry." 10. Suktih 'oyster sippi cippi, ippi, pearl shell ? oyster," 11, vyuptakam sown s prittam T. vittu, vitai * seeds * K. bittu, Tel. vittu. 12. vyustih the dawn, T. viti(yat) 'daythe day-break break.' (Coll.) veti(yal.). 13. vyrddhi 'non-T. mifi ' poverty.' viddhi prosperity, luck ' 14. vandhyā 'a barren ' T. mai mac mac barren'. K. banji Tulu. bajjai. Ma. macci. T. 1, mai mac as in. 15. martya (m) * the maceu. body " immai * this body that is, 'this birth,' 2. mey the body. 16. kārya(m) * to be Pr. kajja kai kae kae 'actions work' kai arutat 'to done, an action, T. Prac : kacca be incapable (Var: III-17 action as through

excessive grief.

and X-11).

Sanskrit.

Actual or probable Präkrt

Dravidian

form.

17. pāky(m) 'uncooked, therefore green расси

T. paccai, pacumai "green oolour." pacum, paim 'green' pain(kili) 'a green (parrot).*

payir 'green crops.

pai pac pac

"a bag."

pācya(m) to be cooked '

18. bhastrā ' a leathern bag' bätrakam 'a vessel 1. pracitih, pracih 'a collection. hoard'

19. parva(n) ' the day of the full or new moon'

20. piştakalı a ground substance, flour, meal !

21. vyarthah 'uscless, vain fruitless'

pacci

pacci a bag'

pavvu

pitto

tival. T. and Mal .: von holiday, change of the moon." T. and Tel: uvd, uvavu "full moon. " pittu, puttu, 'meal

Kan, habbu 'a fes-

cake' Kan, and Tulu pudi, Tam. Mal. and Tel: podi ' powder.' T. puluti, puli, pfiti 'dust.'

T. Mal. and Tel. wffi 'useless, spoiled.

Sanskrit.

Actual or probable Prakṛt form Dravidian.

'wasted'

T.: vi, viņ, Mal: viņ 'spoiled, useless. wasted'. Kan: bidu, 'waste, uncultivated land.' Mal: vettam 'light'.

22. Svitrah 'related to white'

Svetah 'the white colour, the planet Venus' from the root Svit' to be white, to be bright.'

T. and Mal: velli

'silver, the planet

Venus'

veliccum 'light,' vilanku 'to shine,'
vilakku 'a lamp

silver.

the planet Venus,'
belagu' to shine '
Tel: vendi 'silver'
beda 'a silver coin
worth two annas'

Kan: belli

T. vala(nku) be accustomed val live, be

T. val-ar 'grow'

val 'flourish'

vetfu 'out'

val 'a knife, a sword'

val 'shining'

valu(nku) 'distribute'

23. varta-ts he is; vaffai lives, conducts himself

24. vardha-te 'he vöddh-ai grows, continues, flourishes, cuts, distributes.'

(1) Instead of slaked lime South Indians were formerly using powdered camphor with betel leaves. Karpūra-cūrņasamyuklam tāmbūlam pratigrhyatām 'Please accept (this)

tambulam with the powder of karpura ' is the formula now used when offering pansupari to a deity.

- (2) The word kādu in No. 2; and the words rāvu (No. 19); pāu (No. 20); vīt, vīn, bīdu (No. 21); bēda (No. 22) vāļ, vaļ (Nos. 23 and 24); show lengthening of the vowels which is a west-Hindi characteristic. This may be due to later immigrants from madhyads\$a.
- (9) May also be derived from the Sanskrit vana 'dry.'
- (13) In Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, the loss of one e weakens the remaining e and it is converted into the semi-vowel 2 and ultimately vocalised.
- (18) The pacei means 'a bag' in Pāli and appears to be derived from or related to the Sanskrit pracitih meaning 'a hoard, a collection' just as sanci related to the Sanskrit sancitih also meaning 'a hoard, a collection,' literally, has come in the Dravidian idioms to mean 'a bag' i.e., a receptacle for hoard or collection. But from Pischel's Prākṛt Grammar it appears that some scholars connect a form pacei with the Sanskrit patrin.
- (22) Svitram has latterly come to signify a kind of leprosy but its original meaning was "whiteness" or "brightness,"
 - 94. CHANGES UNDERGONE BY THE PALATAL ¢ ORIGINAL AND SUBSTITUTED.

The Tamil alphabet possesses the single symbol ε to represent the following sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet, viz., ε , εh , j, j h, s and s. Tamil ε has the sound of the unaspirated palatal tenuis only when doubled and in the combinations $r\varepsilon$, $f\varepsilon$; it is pronounced like the English j in the combinations $s\varepsilon$ and has the sound of the palatal spirant s in all other cases. This spirantal sound is liable to be weakened into s, especially when intervocal, and is often lost. There are a number of tabbavas in Tamil in which the Indo-

Aryan conjunct & becomes & and in several of them even this & is dropped later. Sanskrit words beginning with the conjuncts &m, &n, etc., often lose the initial & and & when adopted in Tamil, these conjuncts also undergo various other changes as will be seen from the following examples. It may be said generally that the changes which the Tamil & has undergone disguise a larger number of tadbhavas than the change of any other single letter. The instances given below are by no means exhaustive,

In the following instances the Sanskrit fra and fr have been dropped after being changed into f in some cases, probably in all.

Sanskrit.	Meaning.	Tamil form.
śramana	a Buddhist mendicant	camana, amana
Śrāvaņa	name of a month,	ăvani
Śroṇā	name of a constella-	6nam
\$ravistha	do.	avittam
śresthi	foreman of a guild, a wealthy merchant,	cețți
Pāli : sēṭṭhi	'a title given by kings'	
śreni	a line, a row	
Pāli : nisseni		ēņi 'ladder'
Telugu: niccen		
Srotra	Revealed scriptures;	ottu 'conversancy with the Vedas'
äŝrita	'dependent' (adj.)	dent letter)
\$10nam	'boiled meat etc.'	Mal.: köli anam * 'chicken broth *
Šringabēra Pāli : singibera	'green ginger' Pāli : hingur, ingur.	inci, 'green ginger'

In the following instances the initial f and s of conjuncts have been dropped.

Smasru	"hair"	mayir
Smasana	'a cemetery'	mayanam
snāna	bathing, washing	napai (v.t.) wet
sneha	'oil'	nry * ghee *
3	friendship	nē yam.
		necam 'friendship'
snusā	'a daughter-in-law'	nulai
Srona,	'a cripple'	*loni, nonai.
Stona		

In the following examples initial \$7, \$7(a), \$1(a) have been reduced to c.

rnkhala	a chain, a fetter	cankili 'a chain'
rnga	the tusk of an ele-	cinkam 'the tusk,
rngara	'handsome, pro-	cinkdram "beauty" *adornment*
rngi	*a very poisonous plant*	cińki
raddhā	trust, confidence	caffai 'regard, res-
ravas	' the ear '	cevi the ear
rāvaka	* a disciple of the Hinayana school *	cāvakaņ
rapaya-ti	'he cooks, boils'	camai (v.t.) 'cook'
leşman	' phlegm '	cempa cough among animals T. irumat, K:

In the following list, \$ and s wherever occurring have been dropped.

* the silk cotton tree ' \$51mali elova, ilavu. mūrgaširas 'Name of a month' märkali sTea! · lead ' Eyam Simhala 'Ceylon (a transliteration of Ham Pāli : Sihala civalam) 3 sahasra one thousand Gyiram T: fici Tel. sūdi suci a needle Mal: tūśi.

(T. aci may perhaps have come from the S. vēśī * a. needle*)

sabha "an assembly " avai sam šaya 'doubt' aiyam. " mustard " sarsaba Tam : aiyavi, Pali ; sasaba Tel: ava(tu) ācārya a priest, a precepded(n) deiriya. tor " aiya(r) having . suparna beautiful uvana!! feathers? fit time, opportusamaya amayam nity ' Sulka a tell? cunkam, ulku sarpa (sarapa) 'a snake' aravu Sandhyā evening. anti Sarkard sugar' akkäram śūtaka a cloth ăt ai ālā pa-sallā pa intimate and famialāvalāvu.

liar conversation *

In the following list s, original and substituted, has been weakened into y or lost.

95. OTHER CHANGES IN INITIAL SIBILANTS AND PALATALS.

In Tolkäppiyam it is stated that no words can begin with ea, eai, eau; this rule does not find a place in Nannül. It is clear that in the interval between the periods of the two-grammars a number of words had been admitted into the Tamil language beginning with ea, eai, eau. Even now there are not many words beginning with eai or eau and these are all obviously Indo-Aryan words. There are, however, a number of words in Tamil beginning with ea which are supposed to be pure Tamil; but in view of the presumption raised by the rule of Tolkäppiyam these words must be regarded as foreign.

In the following list of tadbhavas initial ca, sa sra, ja, jha and sa of Indo-Aryan words are converted into ce or ci. There appears once to have been a sense of incongruity in combining palatal consonants with a non-palatal vowel. Palatals so combined are now pronounced dentally in Telugu and in Kanarese. Many words beginning with car have alternative forms beginning with ca.

Sanskrit.		Tamil.
(i) cakram	an oil mill	cekku 'an oil mill "
(ii) carman	'leather'	coruppu 'sandals' com-(m-di) 'a leather worker'
(iii) car, cal	go, move	cel 'go, pass'
(iv) Śrapas	the car	cevi ' the ear '
(v) śdĮmati	the silk- cotton tree	Kan. Tam: etava: ilava 'silk-cotton tree apparently through celama'
(vi) samabhāgah	'cqual share, one-half'	cemppakam 'exact

In the following words also the Sanskrit sama meaning 'equal, straight' has become com.

(viii) cenkol 'straight sceptre (i.e.) righteous government'

(ix) centamil 'straight or correct Tamil'

-(x) centūkku "straight metre"

Nos. (viii), (ix), (x) are the opposites respectively of kotunköl 'tyrannical governmet,' kotuntamil 'corrupt Tamil' and vanci-t-tükku. Here kotum and vanci mean 'crooked', the former being cognate with the Sanskrit kutila 'crooked' and the latter with Sanskrit vak-ra (vanc) 'crooked.'

(xi) samputah	a.	round	casket '	
---------------	----	-------	----------	--

cimil

(xii) savarnah 'like, similar'

civan 'to be similar' a

sautra root from Tolkāppiyam.

(xiii) jafin 'having clotted hair '

coli-y-on

(xiv) ja(ya)vah 'barley' Pkt: javõ

ces-(v-arici) 'barley grain husked'

*(xv) jhafi a small tree, a shrub, a bush *

cefi 'a plant :a young

(xvi) yamaļa 'one of a couple'	evili 'a female compa- nion' as in cevili-t-tōy 'mother's compa-
Pkt : jamaļa	nion *
(xvii) samyak correctly	tely'. complex
truly, entirely," Pāli : sammā	cenmai
(xviii) samayali 'season, oppor- tunity'	cerv-i 'fit or proper time, opportunity'
(xix) cayah "the hand"	cey(v.t.) 'do', Tel: cēyu (v.t.) 'do' cēy 'the hand'

The following words and a large number of others beginning with a must be presumed to have been admitted into the language after the time of Tolkappiyam.

Tamil.	Sanskrit,	Tamil.	Sanskrit,
Gankam 'a mul- titude, and assembly '	sanghah	cakatu 'a cart '	šakatam.
Cariku * a conch shell*	Sankham	canal 'hemp'	Sanam
·Cavam 'a corpse'	avam	cakkarai 'sugar'	\$arkar#
Cavai an asse-	sabhā	cantanam	candanam
mbly*		'sandalwood'	
Gamai (v.t.)	Śrapaya-ti	eatai * matted hair *	jaţā.

In the following list, the initial sibilant or palatal of Sanskrit words appears as t in Tamil, &c.

(i) fri (subs.) *wealth, tiru (subs.) *wealth, beauty *beauty, lustre, high position, dignity * (adj.) *divine *

ciga (v.i.) 'be elegant, graceful, eminent ' cir (subs.) 'beauty, prosperity, greatness' celvam (subs.) 'riches, affluence'?

tirumal (subs.) + a name of

Visnu'

(ii) Śritoam (subs.)

(iii) śriman (subs.) an epithet of Visnu'

(iv) sēnā (subs.) " an army "

tāṇai (subs.) 'an army, a weapon' cenai (subs.) 'a host, an

army *

(v) svarga (subs.) ' the heavens' turakkam (subs.) ' the world of the Gods.'

(vi) suci 'a needle '

tūci (Mal.) 'a needle' Aci (Tam.)

The interchange of initial s and t is exceedingly common also in Malayalam and Tulu. The following are a few of the instances noticed in Gundert's Malayalam-English and Manner's Tulu-English Dictionaries.

sangam 'love, affection' tangam 'a bag' sañci tailci 'a fight, a battle " samaram famaram sabhā ' an assembly ' fand 'a shoot, any young tree" sasyam tasya, tai 'serve, worship' sevi ten 'incessant rain' Sona töna solu to lu be defeated' sedil "thumder" teatt "the head" sare tare a rope for climbing palm sale tale trees' pure, clear seti teli

The change of intervocal s to d is also very common in Tamil and Malayalam. Thus, the Sanskrit manas' the mind', mdsah' a month', mas' the moon', dsanam' a seat', śdsanam an order', vāsah' residence' etc., become manatu, mātam, mati, dtanam, cātanam, vātam? etc., in Tamil.

(vii) osthau 'the lips, Paic: otafu 'a lip'

In Prak. st is changed utatu 'is the standard into sat (Var: x-6). form '

(viii) Siras (subs.) 'the head' Tulu: sare, tare,

Avestic sarah Dravidian: tatai 'the head'
Paiśāci sōr (Grierson is probably derived from a
Paic: Lang p. 73) form saraka.

96. CHANGES OF THE ORIGINAL & SOUND IN TAMIL.

- 1. It was pointed above that (a) initial p, (b) doubled pp wherever it may occur, and (c) p in the nexuses fp, rp, are pronounced hard like tennis, (d) that p in the conjuncts mp, np, np are pronounced like b, and (e) that in every other position single p occurring in Tamil words is sounded like the English f. This f sound which must once have been common in Tamil speech has in course of time been further weakened into the labio-dental v and in consequence we find that the original intervocal p has been converted into v in almost all cases and that the final vu has generally been lost except when preceded by i. Thus the only cases in which the letter p is retained in Tamil words are those included in (a), (b), (c), (d) and the excepted cases in (e).
- (a) palam 'a fruit, pampa 'a snake ' piga (v.i.) 'to be born', etc.
 - (b) karuppu 'blackness,' appam 'a cake,' etc.
- (c) pufpam 'a flower,' urpavam 'origin,' virpatti

- (d) vēmpu ' the margosa,' pan pu 'quality,' an pu 'affection,' etc.
- (e) verbal participles ending in pu in Old Tamil and still retained in poetic Tamil;
 - (i) ôţupu 'running,' oţipu 'breaking,' ceypu 'doing' varupu 'coming', etc.,
 - (ii) espavan 'door', varupavan 'comer', etc.
- (iii) mārpu 'the breast,' sārpu 'support, reliance', cālpu 'greatness, superiority,' iyaipu 'nature, inborn quality.'
 - (iv) irupatu 'twenty,' arupatu 'sixty,' elupatu 'seventy.'

The words in (c) are obvious Sanskrit derivatives and are few in number.

The participles in c. (i.) occur only in poetry; the words in c. (ii.) are agent-nouns from these obsolete participles which are still in use and the p is probably retained in them for the sake of euphony, to avoid the repetition of va as in ceyvavay varuvavay. The words in c. (iii.) found in Old standard works have acquired a status of their own.

 The following are a few examples of Sanskrit words in which intervocal p has been replaced by v.

Sanskrit.	Tamil.	Sanskrit.	Tamil.
pāpī 'a well'	vävi	dipah 'a lamp'	tivam, also ti
pāpam 'sin'	pāvam	dtapah 'sun's heat'	ätavam
kepah 'anger'	kövam	\$apah 'a curse'	edvam
tapas 'penance'	tavacu tavam	upamā "likeness"	wamam
ndpitah 'a bar- bur'	nāvitas	kapatam 'fraud, deceit'	kavatu

These examples can be multiplied indefinitely. People acquainted with Sanskrit recognise the Tamil words as tadbhavas at once.

3. In the following examples the final p and v of words of Sanskrit origin have been lost,

of Sanskrit origin have	been lost.	
Sanskrit,	Intermediate	. Tamil.
(i) gopah (subs.) 'one who guards or pro- tects'. The word exists in Mal. & Kan. in the sense of 'a shepherd' chief of a district, a king'		(1) kōm, ka 'a king' (2) kōŋ 'a king' kōpaŋ
(ii) garbhah (subs.) 'a foctus, an embryo'	*garubh	karuvu, karu 'an embryo'
(iii) puspam (subs.) (1) a flower, a blossom;(2) the menstrual discharge		(1) panu, pa *a flower* (2) pappu *menstrual flow*
(iv) rapam (subs.) (1) "form, shape (2) the in- flected form of a noun or verb, the sign of that inflection"		(1) uruvu, uru 'form, shape' (2) urupu 'a case- sign of nouns'
(v) rogah(subs.) disease, sickness'	* รอีบ	(1) novu, no sick- ness* (2) novu, no pain
(vi) šephah, šepah, ševah (subs.)	*cē p	(1) cēvu, cē 'a bull' (2) cēval 'a cock'.
(vii) gumphah (subs.) from guph, gump (v.t.)	*goph	(1) kōw, kō (v.t.) 'string as beads'

etc.

string together, as

pearls, flowers etc."		(2)	of bear
(viii) eva * a particle added to emphasise	*ēp		ē 'a p
or streng then the idea expressed			certain
(ix) devah (subs.) 'a god a deity'	*dēs		tēvu, tē
(x) dolpah (subs.) 'an island'	*dip		tivu 'a
3 / 3 / 3			tiyar 'i
(xi) dipah 'a lamp, lan-			ff ffire'
tern' from dip (v.i.)			dipa-vai
'flame, burn'			wick'
(xii) kū paḥ '(1) a well			T(1) 科
(2) a mast '		(2)	kümbu,

(2) kõnai * a string as
of beads *

& 'a particle expressing tērram
certainty *

tēvu, tē 'a god',
tīvu 'an island',
also

also
as in
fiyer ' islanders'
'fire' as in Sans.
dipa-varti ' lampwick'
##-vatti' a torch'
T(1) k@val'a well'
k@mbu, K. ' k@va,

(2) kāmbu, K. 'kāva, kā 'n mast'

These changes and losses should not be regarded as modern or recent; the laws exemplified by the words given have been in operation from the time of the earliest extant Tamil literature. The words pā 'flower' and co' a bull' occur in Tolkappiyam (I. Uyir. 66, 67, 72) referrable to the early centuries of the Christian era. The words (a) unupu, (b) alapu, (c) tiripu, among others, are assigned special technical meanings in that work as distinguished from their further corruptions (a) unu, (b) alavu, (c) tiripu. Thus (a) unupu is 'a case form' while unu is 'form of shape' generally, (b) alapu is 'metrical measure' of sounds while alavu is 'measure' generally. (c) tiripu is 'change of one sound into another' while tiripu is 'change' generally. These technical terms have come down from earlier grammarians and retain their original spelling.

4. We may lay down as a general rule that final ou is always dropped if preceded by n and may be dropped if preceded by o or e. If preceded by a the final and may optionally be replaced by a as in the following cases:-

cipata (v.i.) enquire	vina	pukavu 'food, cating'	puka
aravu 'a snake'	arā	iravu 'night'	ira
unavu 'food'	una	kayavu 'a dream'	kanā
milavu 'moon-light'	nila	swavu 'the full moon'	md
curavu 'a shark'	cura	puravu 'a dove'	pura

These instances might be multiplied. The majority of them are instanced as tadbhapas elsewhere in this book.

- 5. In the following Sanskrit derivatives the initial vowel of the prefix upa is lost and p is found converted into v.
- (i) ubddhyayah 'a teacher, a religious preceptor'
- T. and M. nadhyar; also T. ocear. Tel: ayya, Kan. uvujja.
- (ii) updyanam 'a present, gift' T.M.K. and Tel: rayanam present of sweet-meats etc., at feasts etc."
- (iii) upe-upovah to fall, falling to one's lot, to befall, as luck'
- T. My to be obtained luckily without expectation'
- (iv) upder (v.i.) 'go near to, hasten near', a Rg-vedic root made up of the prefix upa and or 'go towards'
- T.M. pa, var, var; Tel. ba, bar, bar : Tel. vaccu. (v.i.) 'come, approach'
- (v) Upendrah Literally almost Indra': usually applied to 'Visnu' as brother of Indra; also used in Kan. in the senses of 'Indra, a king'
- T. M. vēntau 'Indra, a king'

- In the following Sanskrit derivatives the initial vower of the prefix upa or apa is lost or transposed but the labial remains tenuis.
- (i) upadhā, apidhā, pidhā-ya-tēpidhā 'cover, 'it is conconceal' cealed'
- (ii) upavasthah 'a fast day' upavastam' 'a fast'

T. pati; T. and M. patunku; Tel. podugu. Kan. pudi, pode, podungu, 'cover, conceal' Tel. pastu 'a fast', also pastilli.

T. and M. pattini 'a fast' Mal. pasni 'a fast'

T. and M. podu 'fasting and waiting' probably derived from a disused pattu.

In Telugu pastilli 'a fast'—pastu+illi both of which also mean 'fast'. In Tamil patu-kita is 'to remain fasting within the precincts of a temple for propitiating the deity'; in Malayalam pagusiri is 'to remain fasting in or before a debtor's house till he pays the debts, to dun by fasting'. The word pagu here is apparently derived from a Tamil pattu corresponding to Telugu bastu. Pattini and pagui corresponding to Telugu pastilli may derived from upavasatithi 'a fasting tithi'.

(iii) upāšakam 'asylum', resting T. pācarai 'a fortified retirplace' ing place in or near

T. pacaroi 'a fortified retiring place in or near battle-field where wounded are lodged and the king retires for the night'.

^{1.} The conjuncts stand sth often become tt, tth as in thona, tthana: 'a police station', thevani: sthapani(?) 'a deposit'; purattu, paryasta 'turn upside down'.

(iv) apara boundless, unlimited

Tel. par-madu 'mother -earth'

apara 'the earth'

T. par 'the earth'

(v) apasarpah 'gliding away'

*pasap; pap of Kumārila Bhaţţa,

prasarpah 'creeping along'

T. pāmpu, Kan. hāvu, Tel. pāmu 'a snake'

In Hindi, the Sanskrit surpal; 'a snake' exists as Sampa nasal.

 The s of Sanskrit words is sometimes found converted into p in Tamil. The probable explanation of this is that Tamil adopted the words from some Aryan dialects which had changed the s and b.

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Tamil

kāvyam 'a poem'.

divyam 'divine'
gandharvaḥ 'a celestial musician'
vardhaya 'serve food, make offerings
to the deity'

kāppiyam. tippiyam kantarppa(n) paṭai (c.f.) K. badisu

Pārvatī' 'the goddess Durgā' vasah 'a boy child'

pārppati payya(n)

 In the following instances the initial p of Sanskrit words appears to have been changed into v; the reason is not apparent.

pratima 'an image, an idol'

T. pafimam 'shape', T. vativam 'form'.

paroan(nt) 'a festival'

T. vāvu 'holiday for a festival'.

97. Dravidian ROOTS AND WORDS DERIVED FROM THE SANSKRIT ROOTS

ort and ordh

Some of the commonest of Tamil and Telugu roots now regarded as 'pure Tamil' (Cen Tamil) and 'pure Telugu' (Acca Telugu) can be easily shown to be of Indo-Aryan origin. We shall begin by writing down all the Dravidian roots and words traceable to the Sanskrit roots art and ordh both of which are clearly of Indo-Germanic origin corresponding to vart 'turn, turn oneself, become, be' and vardh 'grow, increase' of the list of Aryan roots.

The conjunct consonants rt, rth, rd, rdh often become ft, fth, dd, ddh in Prākṛt. In many cases they do not undergo any cerebralization but are found as tt, tth, dd, ddh. As pointed out in the following pages, some of these conjuncts occasionally become alveolars in Dravidian. The vowel f undergoes various modifications of which ar, ir, ur, a, i, u, e, & may be mentioned.

The Sanskrit root of that the form surtate 'it exists'; this appears as sattati, and later as sattai in the Prakets, of which the root-form may be taken to be satt.

Similarly the root vrdh has the form vardhate 'it increases'; and this appears as vaddhati, and later as vaddai; of which the root-form may be taken to be vadd.

In the languages of the West Hindi group (these two root-forms will usually become vaf and vad but in the North-Western group they may remain as vaff and vadd, or lose a a consonant and become vaf and vad.

Appendix to Skeat's Etymological English Dictionary.

SEC. 97] DRAVIDIAN FORMS FROM opt AND orth

For reasons already explained these roots cannot end in t or d in Tamil. They must take an enunciative final u or change their final consonants into l, l or u and become val, val, val, val, val, van etc.

Some of the meanings of the roots vyt and vydh given in Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary are:—

- Lipite is inte	1. Choose, like.	THE THE P
Dy 4	2. distribute, divide.	ortyate.
	3. be, exist, abide, subsist.	
	4. turn, roll on, revolve.	
	5. act, behave, conduct or	variale.
	demean oneself.	t in a
	6. speak, relate, describe.	
	7. shine.	
	8. do, practise.	vartayati.
	9. brandish, flourish, whirl round.	(causal)
parys	choose, select, love.	vävrtyate.
vydh	1. grow, increase, thrive, prosper.	vardhate.
	2. continue, last.	
	3. felicitate, congratulate.	tardhayati
	4. speak.	vardhyate.
	5. shine.	
pardh	cut, divide, share.	vardhayati.
earh, valh	speak, give.	varhute.
		valhate.
oalh	shine, be pre-eminent or	valhayati.
	excellent	valhayate.
		valhate.

vant divide, apportion.

vantati. vantayati. vantayate. vantayate.

vand

share, apportion.

vandayati. vandayati.

The last four roots appear to be Prakrtic forms of vart and vardh taken back into Sanskrit.

The following Dravidian roots may be derived from the Prakttic forms of the above roots.

Tamil (1) val (v.i.) 'exist, live', e.g.,

kiņatu vāl tavaļai 'frogs living in wells' kōţu vāl paravai 'birds living on the branches of trees'; vāl-nāl 'life-time'

(2) vāļ (v.i.) 'behave or conduct oneself' vaiyattu vāļvāňku vāļ pavan vānuraiyum teyvattuļ vaikka-p-paţum (Kura!)

'He who conducts himself after the manner of the world (the wise) will secure a place in heaven.'

(3) val (v.i.) 'flourish, thrive', 'last, continue', 'rule, reign'

vēntan vāļka, vēntan vāļiya 'Long live the king'; vāļttu, vaļuttu 'bless' are causal forms.

M : vāļi 'a ruler', Tam. vaļuti 'a title of Pāṇḍya kings'

(4) valu-nku (v.t.) 'distribute '

cakkarai valankinan "he distributed sugar (to the assembled people)"

(5) vala-nku (v.i.) 'be practised; valakkam 'practice, habit', 'behaviour' (a derived noun) also belong here.

- (6) vāfu (v.i.) 'use, make use of, employ';

 vāduka 'practice, habit, custom' is a derived noun;
 as also 'Tam: vāfikkai 'habit, custom'
 - (7) saddiñai (v.t.) 'distribute cooked food to the people seated'

Tam: vatti, Kan: badisu (v.t.) 'distribute or serve out food or victuals'.

Tam: paţai, Aryan badai (v.t.) 'serve food'

All are apparently derived from the Skt. vardhay having the same meaning 1.

(8) sanda (v.t.) 'cook food'. It originally probably meant 'distribute cooked food'; but now applies to the chief duty of the cook, viz., 'cooking'.

panfakamu is 'the portion distributed'.

The distribution of cooked food being the chief way in which rich men helped the poor in very early times; the root valh derived apparently from vaddh has come to mean 'give'.

Tamil:-

- (9) vallal means 'a great giver', also valliyar 'generous givers'.
- (10) vāļ (v.i.) 'speak' exists in Tamil, only in the negative forms vāļā, vāļātu, 'silently', vāļāmai 'silence, taciturnity'.
- (11) val (adj.) 'shining' e.g. val-nutal 'bright forehead'. The noun oli 'light' belongs, apparently to this.

It will be seen that the Dravidian words are derived from a causal form c.f. 'yāgumvadāhēmi sāma shall serve ricegruel sir' (V.F.J.) Vol. VI, p. 366 9d.

Note.-There is no verb saf shine' now in use in Tamil.

(12) veffu (v.t.) 'cut, hack' apparently comes from vadd 'cut'.

The noun uli 'a carpenter's chisel' perhaps belongs to this.

- (13) vafi (v.t.) 'sharpen'; (adj.) 'sharp'
- (i) vafioēl 'a sharp lance', (ii) vafittal sharpening a crow bar etc., (iii) vaf (subs.) 'a sword', (iv) vafi (subs.) 'an arrow', 'Telugu (vi) vādimi 'sharpness', (vii) vadranki (Sanskrit vardhaki) 'a carpenter' also come under this head.
- (14) vala-r (v.i.) 'grow, increase'.
 - (i) valarum payir 'growing crops', valarum pirai 'the waxing moon', (iii) valarum pirayam 'the adolescent period'.

We have till now considered only the roots arising from the bases vart and vardh. But r may also change into ir giving rise to forms like virt, virdh, and undergo other modification. The roots may be reduplicated or may take prefixes; and the initial va may undergo Samprasāraņa.

(15) wul (v.i.) 'roll, revolve'.

The reduplicated form variant 'turn round and round' will become 'variat' which by the Samprasārana of va will become variati, uraj.

(16) al (v.i.) 'come 'round and round'. Not in use as a verb, but alam in the sense of 'a turn of duty' is in use in Malayalam. The reduplicated exact' 'turn round and round' will become awaf and by the Samprasarana of var will become (at) al.

(17) #4 (v.i.) 'grow very old, decay'; #4al (subs.) 'things spoiled or decayed'.

The reduplicated form variardh will become #1 as above.

(18) #fu (v.i.) 'feign dislike or anger as a woman to her lover'.

The Sanskrit opart (v.t., v.i.) 'turn away from, repulse' which in conjugation will take the form aparat (-a-te) will become avat in some Prakrts and may have given rise to the Tamil root. The prefix apa- becomes 0, u, and sometimes a in Pali (c.f. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 5).

(19) Tam: ul (v.i.) 'be' (a defective verb). Telugu undu (v.i.) 'be'.

By the Samprasarana of us and may further be nasalized into the form undu. The form vat is the verb-substantive in Oriva.

(20) vilu, vil 'large'.

These appear to be traceable to viridha for viddha 'grown old, large' which will become viddu, and finally; viju and vij.

(21) Tam: vāffi (subs.) 'a turn, repetition' (vulgar). Telugu māru (subs.) 'a turn, repetition'; māfiki 'frequently' (literally, 'every time'). These words appear to be connected with the Sanskrit āvriti 'repetition, turn' and āvri (subs.) 'coming round and round'. The Sanskrit forms have become corrupted into āvaffi and āvart and by a transposition of the initial vowel have given rise to vāfii, mārru or māru.

Some instances have been given of the changes of n into rr and of the change of initial v to m.

(22) Tamil: vil (v.t.) 'sell'. Tam: and Tel: māru (v.t.) 'exchange, barter'. Kan: bil 'sell', bāļu 'sell for, exchange for'.

In the Telogu variau 'he' and vindu 'this man', the initial and i (of the Tamil avan and ivan) have been transposed.

The word variation in Dravidian now means 'trade, exchange or barter' and if we can infer from this that vrt has the meaning of 'exchange or barter' as undoubtedly parivart has, then we may suppose that vrt took the form virt and was ultimately corrupted into (virt) vil and bil.

Just will also then have 'exchange or barter' as one of its meanings and may be transformed finally into marra or maru (vide item 21) and balu.

In the two forms direct and direct considered above the prefix a displaced by metathesis produces the form vatti, mati 'repetition, turn', and marra, mara, balla, 'exchange, barter'. But there are a few Tamil verbal bases containing alveolars which appear to be derived from the Sanskrit ert of Indo-Germanic origin corresponding to the Latin vert but there is nothing in the Tamil bases corresponding to the prefixes which give the special meanings to ert in the Aryan languages.

- (23) The Tamil: magu (v.t.) 'deny, refuse' apparently derived from opt (vart) with no prefix conveys the idea of the English 'controvert'.
- (24) The Tamil vers (v.t.) 'loathe, feel disgusted' probably derived from the same base vet (vart) with no prefix conveys the meaning of the English 'aversion' (from 'avert').
- (25) We may also mention here the words marra, mara, involving the sense of 'the other'; marravan 'the other man' maru-nal 'the next day', marapati 'again, a second time'.
- (26) The following derivatives from prt and ordh in use in Tamil may also be noted down here.

vattam (vritam) 'a circle'; vattu 'a circular piece in gambling'; vattil (vartula) 'a circular plate'; vattai, vatti; vali 'a way' (vartis 'a way'); vatai (vataka) 'a round cake', vatti (vridhi) 'increase or interest (on loans)'.

CHAPTER VII DRAVIDIAN SUFFIXES

The property of the second of

TAMIL I.

98. CLASSIFICATION OF ROOTS

Tamil roots and verbal bases may be grouped under three classes with reference to the principles laid down already: (A) accented, (B) unaccented, (C) accented when transitive or causal, but unaccented in other senses.

A. To the accented group belong :-

No. of Street,

The verb substantive iru 'be' and above fifty roots
of obscure formation ending in -s and consisting of two short
syllables. Examples:—

nafa 'walk' mara 'forget'

tira 'open' para 'fly'

tura 'abandon' ifa 'lose'

ira 'beg' ula 'labour'

pura 'protect' kafa 'cross'

ira 'die' kifa 'be, lie uncared for'

 All bases of obvious Aryan origin formed by affixing a to a Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan root or base.
 Examples:—

Base	Sanstroot	Base	Sans:root
pati 'read'	path	kāpi 'be angry'	kup
mari 'die'	mr	pali 'be fruitful'	phala
paci 'dwell'	0:45	puci 'eat, enjoy'	bhuj
vāci 'read'	ชลิง	nati 'dance, pretend'	nat

3. All causal bases containing one or both of the causative suffixes vi and pi. Examples:

ceyvi 'cause to be done'
kofuppi 'cause to be given'
ufuppi 'cause to be put on'
ceyvippi 'cause to be done'

nafappi 'cause to be performed' arivi 'cause to be known' terivi 'cause to be known' nafappivi 'cause to be performed'

A number of miscellaneous bases including adjectives and nouns used as verbs. Examples:—

par 'sec'
ka 'protect, wait'
kofu 'give'
ofu 'take'
pafu 'lie down'
ufu 'put on, dress oneself
with'
kat 'learn'

vern 'dislike, be disgusted with'
unu 'take shape'
pena 'become large'
cigu 'become small'
velu 'become white'
karu 'become black'
pulu 'become fruit'

vil 'buy'
nil 'stand, cease moving'

kdy 'yield, produce as fruit etc.'

B. (1) Of the unaccented group the most numerous are those ending in the short enunciative ú. Examples:—

āṭû 'play' ēṛù 'ascend' maṅkû 'become dim' ɛṇṇŭ 'count, think' ofu 'run'
kāffu 'show'
taļļu 'push aside'
eļļu 'disregard'

(2) The following are some of the bases of this class not ending in short it:—

vai 'abuse'
ey 'shoot'
ksy 'cut'
cey 'do'
pey 'pour, rain'
alu 'weep'
ulu 'plough'
tolu 'venerate'
kay 'be heated'

pāy 'flow (as water)'
07 'cease'
puku 'enter'
naku 'laugh'
uku 'be scattered'
totu 'touch'
ifu 'give alms'
pofu 'suffer'

C. The following are some of the roots which are accented or unaccented according to sense:-

ifi 'powder, become powdered'
ali 'destroy, be destroyed'
ofi 'conceal, hide oneself'
ofi 'break, be broken'
uri 'peal off (as the skin), be pealed'
eri 'burn, be burnt'
vifu 'disentangle or cause to leave, leave'
kefu 'ruin, be ruined'
marai 'hide, be lost to view'
ufai 'break, be broken'
arai 'grind, be ground'
atai 'put into, go into'
karai 'dissolve, be dissolved'

Note: This complex classification may be contrasted with the uniformity that has been attained in Telugu.

99. THE PRESENT TENSE SUFFIXES -kigu, -kingu.

Paradigms Suffix -kiru reduced to -ku in some cases. Corrupt forms. Explanation of dialectical forms.

(a) The present tense suffixes are -kigu and -kiggu. The suffix -kigu is universal in the popular dialect; it is also now used in literary works though unknown to Old and Mediaeval Tamil. The suffix -kingu is confined to a literature and is not heard in the common speech of the people.

Present tense paradigms

Accented base pafi 'read'

i.		Singular pati-k-kir-ën	71 - 14 - 14 - 14 - 14 - 14 - 14 - 14 -	Plural pați-k-kir-om
	(Coll.)	pati-k-kten	(Coll.)	pati-k-krom
2.	(Coll.)	pati-k-kig-dy pati-k-kgay	(Coll.)	pati-k-kir-tr pati-k-krir
3.	M. F.	paţi-k-kir-ān paţi-k-kir-āl		paţi-k-kir-ar
(C	oll.) M. F.	paţi-k-kṛāṇ paţi-k-kṛāļ	(Coll.)	pati-k-kṛ-ār
	N.	pati-k-kir-atu		pati-k-kir-atu
	(Coll.)	paţi-k-kr-atu	(Coll.)	pafi-k-kr-atu

Unaccented base otu 'run'

		Singular		Plural
1.		ōtu-kir-ēn		ofu-kig-om
100	(Coll.)	ōţu-r-ēn	(Coll.)	ōtu-r-ōm
2.		ōtu-kir-āy		Ofu-kir-tr
	(Coll.)	ōtu-rāy	(Coll.)	Olu-r-ar
3.	M.	ōţu-kir-āŋ		ōtu-kir-ār
	F.	ōtu-kir-āl		Water In
(Coll.) M.	ōtu-x-ān	(Coll.)	ōtu-r-ār
	F.	ōfu-g-al		
- 3	N,	ōtu-kit-atu	111	Otu-kir-atu
-81	(Coll.)	Otu-ratu	(Coll.)	Otu-kir-atu

In colloquial speech the i of kiru is elided after accented bases, the whole syllable ki being lost after unaccented bases. The third person neuter is often nafakkutu, öfutu, põkutu, ërutu etc., both in the singular and in the plural in vulgar speech. In the grammatical dialect no elision takes place, and -kingu

may be substituted for -kiru; the third person neuter plurals in this dialect are patikkingapa, otukingapa, pokingapa etc.

(b) In the case of the verb substantive in "be" and of kifa "be, lie uncared for" which are both accented the present tense suffix -kiga which in the colloquial language becomes -kga by the loss of the vowel i, finally becomes -kg by the assimilation of r to k. Examples:—

		Singular	Plural.	Singular	Plural
1.		irukk#)s	irukkōm	kiţakkēņ	kitakkom
2.		inukkāy	irukktr	kifakkāy	kitakkir
3.	M.	irukkān	irukkār	kitakkān	kiţakkār
N	F.	irukka!		kitakkāl	
	N,	irukkutu	irukkata	kitakkutu	kiţakkutu
		irukku	irukku	kitakku	kitakku

This use of kifakku and irukku originally kifakkru and irukkru in the neuter without personal endings is probably a remnant of their former use in all person and numbers without personal terminations. The Labbai hawkers even now use irikkiri, in the third person neuter without any personal ending. Muttu irikkiri, pavalam irikkiri etc. 'Pearls there are, coral beads there are (with me)'.

(c) Corrupt forms:—The forms of the verb substantive undergo corruptions of other kinds among the lower working classes and in Tamil dialects.

Thus in the town of Madras irakkirān 'he is' becomes tkirān with loss of ru and compensative lengthening of the initial i; and also kīrān by a shifting of the accent and the consequent loss of the initial i.

(d) The Linguistic Survey gives specimens of Tamil dialects spoken by Tamil tribes who have wandered from the Tamil country and are settled in the Bombay Presidency, Berar and the Central Provinces. In these dialects the suffix kir enters into the formation of the present tense:—

Korava or Yerukala. igarā "he is", igadu "it is" sāgārē "I die". (L.S.N., Vol. IV, p. 320.)

Kaikādi. igarī "I am", igada "It is", igadgā "they are", In Berar kirī "I am" etc, are used instead. (L.S.N., Vol. IV, p. 335.)

Burgandi, Singular (1) sirê (2) sirê (2) sir Plural (1) sirê (2) sirê (3) sirê

S in the above is interchangeable with s. Thus sir "he is", sign "they are" are also found. Such forms correspond to kiri 'I am' of the Kaikādi dialect. (L.S.N., Vol. IV, pp. 343 and 344.)

The correct explanation of these corrupt forms appears to be that the substantive base im which becomes i in Kaikādī and Korava is elided altogether as in some forms of vulgar Tamil in Madras, k being palatalized at the same time. Professor Sten Konow appears, however, to take the kir of these forms to be a verb substantive and to identify the present tense suffix kiru with this verb substantive. (L.S.N., Vol. IV, p. 296.)

100. THE PAYT TENSE SUPPLIXES

t-ing. Various forms of the conjunctive participle.

(a) The characteristic signs and letters of the past tense are mentioned in grammars as t, f, r and in; here t and t include also the corresponding medial sounds d and d which they have after unaccented roots. Of these six signs t, d and r are merely modifications which t undergoes when combining with the final consonants of verbal bases. Thus t+t becomes rr or sr, s+t becomes sr; n+t becomes nt; and t+t becomes tt or st. Examples: 1st person singular:-

kal+t+&b=karren 'I learnt'

oil+t+&n=virren 'I sold'

col+t+&n=virren 'I went'

vol+t+&n=tengen 'I conquered'

tin+t+&n=tinren 'I ate'

un+t+&n=ketten 'I ate'

kel+t+&n=ketten 'I heard'

kel+t+&n=konten 'I bought'

The original signs of the past-tense-forms will hence be only two, viz., t and ig; there is reason to believe that ig was not in use in the oldest stage of the language and that the short is bases which now use in in the formation of their past relative participles and tense forms then used the suffix i, which they use even now in forming their conjunctive participles.

- (b) The past is the only tense in Modern Tamil which has a verbal participle from which tense-forms can be derived by adding personal terminations. These participles (conjunctive) are derived by suffixing to or i to the base and the forms which they assume for the various classes of roots described above are as follows:—
 - (i) Accented. A (1) iruntu, kifantu, nafantu, magantu from iru, kifa, nafa, maga.
 - (ii) All other accented roots. A (2), A (3), A (4), and C. pofittu, nafittu; ceyvittu, nafappittu; käyttu, karru; pärttu, pafuttu; ifittu, olittu; from A (2) pafi, nafi; A (3) ceyvi, nafappi; A (4) pär, käy, kal, pafu; and (C) ifi, oli.
 - (iii) Unaccented roots ending in short û. B (1) ofti, kāţţi, ēzi, enni, elli from oţû, kaţţû, ēzû, ennû, ellû.

(iv) All other unaccented roots, B (2) and C vaitu, optu, koytu, ceytu, peytu, alutu, ulutu, tolutu; tottu, itfu, vittu; cebru, vebru, kobru, kontu, ifintu, olintu.

From B (2) vai, ey, key, cey, pey, alu, ulu, tolu; tolu, ifu, vifu; cel, vel, kel, kel; (C) ifi, eli.

- (c) In colloquial speech -ttu and -ntu become -ccu and
 -ncu after y and palatal vowels, and-ngu becomes -ngu always.

 Thus patittu, itittu, itintu, elintu, utaittu, maraintu, cengu, kangu,
 etc. become paticeu, iticcu, itincu, olincu, utaiccu, maraincu,
 cengu, kangu etc. The past relative participles are formed by
 adding a to these conjunctive participles:—natanta, cenga,
 konta, kētta etc.
- (d) It will be seen that bases ending in short \$\tilde{u}\$ form their conjunctive participles with the suffix \$\tilde{i}\$; relative participles and finite verbs (agent nouns) derived from these conjunctive participles will be \$\tilde{o} tipa\$ 'that ran', \$\tilde{a} ttipa\$ 'that showed', \$\tilde{e} tipa\$ 'that ascended' etc., \$\tilde{o} tipa\$ 'he ran,' \$\tilde{a} ttipa\$ 'we showed', \$\tilde{e} tipa\$ 'they ascended' etc., These forms were current in Old Tamil but have now been displaced by forms containing the tense sign \$\tilde{u} \tilde{o} tipa\$, \$\tilde{a} ttipa\$, \$\tilde{e} tipa\$, \$\tilde{o} tipa\$, \$\tilde{a} ttipa\$, \$\tilde{e} tipa\$, \$\tilde{o} tipa\$, \$\tilde{e} tipa\$, \$\tilde{o} tipa\$, \$\tilde{e} tipa\$, \$\tilde{o} ti
- (e) Bases not ending in short it form their conjunctive participles with the suffix tu, the initial t of which is doubled after accented bases not included in class A (1); the number of unaccented bases after which tu is sounded as du can be counted on one's fingers. After all other unaccented bases and after accented bases included in class A (1) tu becomes utu.
- (f) Conjunctive participles are sometimes used in the sense of present participles. Examples:—

Of i canten 'he came running', sufantu canten 'he came walking', ërrai ninti-k-katantën 'he crossed the river swimming'.

To avoid ambiguity the auxiliary participle vittu is often added to indicate a past signification; and the auxiliary participle -kontu is added to indicate a continuing action. Examples:—

cappittu viftu 'after having eaten'
mutituv iftu 'after finishing', 'having finished'
tünki-k-kontu irukkirün 'he is sleeping'

Vittu is the past verbal participle of vitu 'leave'; kontu is supposed to be the past verbal participle of the reflexive auxiliary kol.

101. THE FUTURE TENSE-SUFFIXES -p, v.

Examples from old inscriptions showing the original gerundive sense of the suffixes:—

(a) The characteristic letters of the future are p, p,

Base		Singular	Plural
iru *be*	. 1.	iruppen	isupp0m
rā 'come'	2.	varuody	paracetr
tin 'cat'	3.	M, tingan tingal	tingar
	n.	inukkum	irukkum
The same of the		varum	varum
		tingum	tinyum

The letter v arises from the weakening of p after unaccented roots; p after nasals is pronounced b. The neuter termination -um arises from the elision of k in -kum after unaccented roots. (b) The neuter forms in -kum and -um are the remnants of an old conjugation which appears to have been used formerly in other persons also, as it is even now in Malayālam; in vulgar speech they are in some places even now used in the Tamil country in the 3rd person masculine and feminine singular.

The forms in -kum and -um express simple futurity or the habitual present. The forms in p and u rarely express mere futurity; in most cases they imply contingency, will, obligation, or promise. In colloquial speech simple futurity is often expressed by the present forms in kigu. ndlaikku ourukirén 'I will come to-morrow'.

- (c) There is a 3rd person neuter singular form in p or v which was formerly much used in laying down rules and regulations; the following examples are taken from a Tamil inscription of the 9th century containing regulations for the management of a temple and of the attached seminary in Travancore (T.A.S., Vol. I, pp. 1 to 18).
- pani kuttu-k-kāl paţāmal esynippatu "The business should be done without obstruction".
- (2) muppattāru kuṭam nār koṭuppatu 'Thirtysix pots of water should be given',
- (3) kuraivara kotuppatu 'should be given without any deficiency'.
- (4) poruvär arrai-k-kalam ilappatu "Those who gamble (quarrel) shall lose the day's meals".
- (5) pon tantamum pattu katamaiyum kotuppatu 'The tax should be paid in addition to the fine of gold'.
- (d) A form ending in -sum implying order or command occurs frequently in letters addressed to inferiors. Examples:—

Cikkiram anuppavum 'let (it) be sent soon' Patil utang elutavum 'reply immediately'

(a) Another class of words expressing obligation are derived from katava—which is joined to an infinitive.

Ceyya-k-katawên 'I shall be bound to do'
Kotukka-k-katawây 'You shall be bound to give'
Celutta-k-katawiyar 'They shall be bound to pay'

102. OTHER FINITE VERB FORMS

Imperatives, Benedictives, and Injunctives

(a) Imperatives. The imperative second person singular is the verbal base itself; the plural is formed by adding -um, -min or -minir to the base; -um and -kal together form a double plural. Examples:—

Singular Naţa 'walk'; cey 'do'.
Plural Naţawm, ceyyum;
Naţawin, ceymmin;
Naţawinkal, ceyywhkal.

El and al are also imperative suffixes; the former is always used in prohibiting; the latter may be used in enjoining or prohibiting. Ea may be added to the negative al in the singular and may be added in the plural.

- (1) Natavel, natavarka, natavarmin, (pl.) 'do notwalk'.
- (2) Makan enal makkat patati enal 'do not call him a man (but) call him the chaff of mankind'.
 - (3) Olluvatu ellām ceval 'do everything possible'.

There is also a permissive imperative with the suffix -kattum or -kattu of which the initial k is elided after unaccented roots. Examples:—

Avan patikkattum 'let him read' Nan varatta 'may I come?' Aval pokattum 'let her go' The forms are the same for all persons, numbers and genders.

(b) Benedictives and injunctives are obtained by adding ks to the verbal bases; they are the same for all persons, numbers and genders. The initial k is elided after unaccented roots.

Aracan vala 'long live the king' Avarkal ellarum keta 'may they all perish' Nafakka 'walk'; utkarka or utkara 'sit'

These forms have a precative sense in the 2nd person and are much used by \$ri Vaisnavas.

There is a very rare variant arpir or appir of al-miss the suffix of the negative imperative plural which is sometimes used in cursing and is a strong injunctive. Examples:—

turakkam pukappir 'you shall not enter heaven'.

103. EGGAM OR INCOMPLETE FORMS Relative participles—Adverbial participles

Tamil grammars arrange incomplete forms under two heads—peyar-eccam and vigai-y-eccam. The former is what European grammarians call 'relative participles', while the latter head includes infinitives, subjunctives, conjunctive participles, etc.

(a) Relative participles are of the forms:-

	Present	Past	Future
Pati 'read'	Patikkira 'that reads'	Patitta	Patikkum
eg 'do'	patikkinga crykina 'that does' crykinga	ceyta	сгуушт
kāṭṭu'show'	kāļļukiga 'that shows' kāļļukinga	kattiya	kāṭṭum

(b) The second class—vigai-y-eccan—of incomplete forms are stated in Nannul to be of the following types:—

сеуіи, сеури, сеууй, сеууй, сеуіева, сеуа, сеуіп, сеууіуа, сеууіуат, сеусав, параррав, сеуракки.

Of these the first five are stated to show the past tense, the sixth to show the present tense, and the remaining six, the future.

The type aytu which includes the type katti is what has been called the conjunctive participle; it is by suffixing a to this that the past relative participle is obtained. Participles from which present relative participles have been similarly derived by suffixing a are not now in use.

The types, coppu, copyd, copyd, coptena are now wholly confined to the literary dialect; the first three of these are really present participles in sense.

The type coyin is a subjunctive form.

The types ceya, ceyyiya, ceyyiyar, ceyvän, natappän, ceypäkku, are all infinitives of purpose. Of these, only the first is in use in the colloquial dialect. The other five are found only in the literary dialect. The last three ceyean, natappän, ceypäkku are practically unknown to Old Tamil and are not mentioned in Tolkäppiyam.

104. MISCELLANEOUS FORMS

Verbal nouns-Infinitives-Subjunctives

(a) Verbal nouns:—These are usually formed by adding -al, -tal, -pu, etc., to the base. There is reason to believe that the t in tal is only a formative letter interposed between the suffix and the base. The origin of this t and the other formative letters will be adverted to in a later chapter. Examples:—

- (1) ceyal, otal, eral 'doing, running, ascending'.
- (2) natattal, ceytal, Ofutal 'walking, doing, running'.
- (3) necavu 'weaving', ulavu 'ploughing', aruppu 'reaping'.
- (b) Infinitives:-
- (i) The infinitive of purpose is the 4th case of the verbal noun in al or tal.

ceyarku (ceyal), ceytarku (ceytal), öfarku (öfal), nafattarku (nafattal).

(ii) Infinitives of purpose are also formed by adding a or ka to the verbal base, k being elided as usual after unaccented roots. Examples:—

patikka, ceyka, ceyya, atuka (afa).

These forms are also used in the senses of: (1) so as to, so that; (2) at the time that, when, while, Examples:—

- avatai vila utaittār 'he kicked him so as to cause him to fall down'.
- (2) polutu vifiya vantārkaļ 'they came when the day was breaking'.

In Old Tamil and often in poetry -pps is used instead of -kks after accented roots. Examples:—

na tappa, iruppa.

- (iii) Forms like ceyyiya, ceyyiyar, 'for doing', öturön 'for running', natappön, natappäkku 'for walking', are also used as infinitives of purpose in poetry.
 - (c) Subjunctives. The suffixes in use are : \$1, \$1, in, it.

The first of these is used with finite verbs (future chiefly), the second chiefly with past verbal participles, and the third and the fourth with the uninflected. Examples:—

natappāṇēl 'if he will walk'.
maļai peytāl, 'if it rains'.
avaļ variņ 'if she comes'.
avar unnil 'if they eat'.

105. CAUSAL BASES

These bases are formed in literary Tamil by adding vi or pi to the root according as this is unaccented or accented; the original suffix was throughout -pi, but this has been softened to -ri after unaccented roots. Examples:—

ceyvi, varuvi, natappi, nitpi.

These casuals appear to have been adopted late and have not yet displaced the old causal bases corresponding to the conjugations of pro-Dravidian period; these old bases maintain their ground and are preferred in popular speech to the later literary forms,

Non-causal root or base	Causal base	Non-causal root or base	Causal base
nata 'walk'	natattu	elumpu 'rise'	eluppu
nil 'stand'	niguttu	tirumpa 'turn'	tiruppu
td (varu) 'come'	varuttu	kilampu 'get up'	kilappu
in 'be, sit'	iruttu	peruku 'increase'	perukku
aluntu 'sink'	åluttu	uruku 'melt'	urukku
poruntu 'fit'	poruttu	iguku 'become tight'	irukku

The genesis and the formation of these old bases will be fully dealt with when dealing with pro-Dravidian aorists and past tense forms. Note:—Many causals formed with the suffixes of and pi have, in course of time, acquired shades of meaning slightly different from the old causals formed with the suffixes -lu, -pu, -ku.

2. TAMIL DIALECTS

105. KORAVA OR YERUKALA

The Koravas or Yerukalas are a wandering tribe of basket and mat-makers, pig-breeders, etc. They are found all over the Madras Presidency and in several districts of the Bombay Presidency, (L.S., Vol. IV, p. 318.)

- (a) 'The present tense is formed in this dialect as in Tamil:—adikēri 'I strike', hōgārē 'I go', adikir, 'I shall strike', sōgārē 'I die', igarā 'he is'. The suffixes kēr, kēr, gār are clearly identical with the Tamil kkira kira. (L.S.Vol. IV, 320.)
- (b) The past tense is formed by adding the suffixes ta, and na, or, in most cases, in the same way as in Tamil:—adasa 'thou struckest', hous 'he went', kugata 'he gave', kudata 'she gave', vancu 'it came'.

107. KAIKADI

Kaikādīs are a wandering tribe of mat-makers found in the Bombay Presidency, Berar and Central provinces (L.S., Vol. IV, 333.)

- (a) The present tense of the verb substantive is as follows:—igari 'I am'; garā 'thou art', 'igarā 'he is', igada 'it is', igar 'we are', igrāng 'you are', igrāng 'they are', igadga 'they (neuter) are'. In Berar we find kiri etc., used instead. (L.S., Vol. IV, 335, 666, 668.)
- (b) The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding a suffix ak (gak) or ar. Thus iddakî 'I strike', varāk

'It comes', hôgāki 'I go', nikyakā 'thou art'. In Kolaba pogārē 'I go', sonārē 'I say', śeyārð 'he is doing'. In Ramdrug sagārī 'I die'. (L.S., Vol. IV, 335.)

(c) The past tense is formed by means of the same suffixes as in Tamil.

Forms such as seidutu 'he has done', yakpiintu 'he spent' are compounds. Compare Tamil arren pronounced utten 'I was'. Forms such as bhētitino 'he met', santia 'it came', tingantsga 'the pigs ate', should be compared with the vulgar Tamil forms such as patiecan 'he learned', patiecatu' it learne'; accu, accutu instead of ayirru 'it became', 'it was'; Am 'it was' in a specimen received from Akola, directly corresponds to the vulgar Tamil accu.

In Ellichpur we find forms such as pens 'he said', gudtusu, 'he gave'; hōsu 'he went'. They appear to contain the suffix -tsa or -tsu of the 3rd person neuter. Similar forms occur in Burgandi also.

- (d) The future apparently corresponds to the Tamil present. Thus ikari 'I shall be', edkiri 'I shall arise', idri 'shall strike', hōgri 'Lshall go', (L.S., Vol. IV, 335.)
- (e) Kaikādī thus agrees with vulgar Tamil in most respects. Like other Tamil dialects, in several points, it agrees with Kanarese, and it must therefore be derived from an older form when Tamil and Kanarese had not as yet been differentiated so much as is the case at the present day. (L. S., Vol. IV, 333.)

108. BURGANDI

Burgandi is the dialect of another vagrant tribe in Nimar and the Central India Agency. It is closely connected with Kaikādi, but is apparently dying out. (L.S., Vol. IV, 343.) (a) The following are the forms of the present tense of the verb substantive. (L.S., Vol. IV, 343.)

Sin	gular	P	hural
1.	sirà -	1.	sirū
2.	sird	2.	sirū
3.	sir	3.	sirfi

S is in this verb interchangeable with c. Thus we also find cir 'he is', ciril 'they are'. Such forms correspond to kirê 'I am', and so forth in some forms of Kaikādī. (L.S., Vol. IV, 344.)

- (b) The past tense of the verb substantive is given as nīdis in all persons and numbers. The first specimen, however, contains the plural form nīdisu 'they were'.
- (c) The present tense of finite verbs is formed much as in Kaikādī. Thus nikakē, 'I live', sāgākē 'I die', pāgākē 'I go', tingākā 'let us eat', siyākā 'let us do', tingakā 'they eat'.
- (d) The past tense is formed by one of the suffixes s (or s) and n. Thus adsē "I struck'; adsa "thou struckest"; adic "he struck'; adcā "we, you, or they struck'; pōinē "I went'; pōina "thou wentest'; pōs "he went'; pōinō "we went'; pōinang 'you or they went'; señjē "I did'; sēja "thou didst'; señjō "we did'; akna "thou madest'; tingasā "they ate'; nikasā "they lived'.

The 3rd person singular always ends in s or c. Thus thorac 'he sent', patas 'he saw', poras 'he ran', enpiskus 'he wasted', vañe 'he came'. Is or as is sometimes added. Thus mandisos and mandisis 'he began'; pēsis or pesus 'he said'; sējus 'he did'.

(e) There are several other forms which apparently contain a suffix -yō. Thus varigyōt 'I drove'; varigus and varigyōtus 'he drove'; vleyōs 'he went'; vagyōs 'it happened'.

Forms such as elyō nīḍis 'he had gone', lit. 'gone he was' seem to point to the conclusion that this -yō is the suffix of a past participle passive. It is therefore probably horrowed from Rājasthānē.

A perfect is validite 'he has come'. It is formed from the conjunctive participle valid by adding it, another form of sir 'he is.'

(f) The future is apparently formed as in Kaikāḍī. Thus aḍikra 'thou wilt strike'; agarē 'I shall be'; agar and agyōgar'he will be', Mētarisuṅga'I shall fill', is in its termination apparently a Rōjasthānī form. Other forms are khālakē 'I shall go', sarlē 'I shall say', Koḍturē 'I shall give', pōrakē 'I shall throw'.

Note:—Everything stated above in regard to Tamil dialects is taken almost verbatim from the Linguistic Survey of India.

OLD TAMIL

Note.—Tol-kāppiyam is our main authority for the grammatical forms of Old Tamil but the work does not refer to tense-suffixes as such though of course it gives verb-forms containing such suffixes; in fact the term ifamilai does not occur in the work at all. One is therefore left in considerable doubt as to which of the suffixes of modern Tamil were in use in that early period. The commentaries supply the omission, but having been written several centuries after the date of Tolkāppiyam, they will naturally include later developments and formations, and are not reliable authorities in all cases for the grammatical forms of the archaic period. It has therefore been thought necessary to examine all the werb-forms occurring in Tolkāppiyam itself and the Cankam and other early Tamil works mentioned already. The results of this examination may be summarised thus—It is

surmised that the omission in Tolkappiyam to enumerate or classify the tense-suffixes may partly be due to the difficulty of saying except with reference to the context what tense any particular participle indicated. It is also possible that the grammarians then regarded a pronominalised verb as made up of a participle and a pronominal ending and had not yet risen to the conception of a tense suffix or sign.

109. THE PAST TENSE.

This was the only tense in Old Tamil which denoted a definite time; all other tenses were practically acrists.

The signs of the past tense were as in modern Tamil t, d (intervocal t), m and i or iB, but poets occasionally formed the conjunctive participles with i even in the case of bases which did not end in short \hat{u} . Example:—

micaii 'having eaten' from micai 'eat'; malaii 'having warred' from malai 'war', kurii 'having intended' from kuri intend.

Such forms occur in Tolkappiyam itself. It is not possible to say now whether this was merely a poetical license or was a characteristic of the living language of the time.

Finite verbs formed conjunctive participles ending in i were as numerous in Old Tamil as the finite verbs containing the tense suffix -in, but past relative participles always ended in -ina, and not one ending in -ina could be found in the earliest works. Both the relative participles in -ina and the finite verbs formed from conjunctive participles ending in -i have now fallen into disuse except in a few stereotyped cases like vising 'required', nat ina' desired', etc., but the

Vide Tolkāppiyam I, 83; 121; 141; 226; II, 40; 57;
 115; 163.

existence of the former in colloquial Malayalam and of the latter in colloquial Telugu would show that they were once in common use in the speech of the people in the Tamil land also.

110. THE T-AOREST

This suffix was different in origin from the -t suffix of the past tense and was confined to the 1st and 2nd persons only. The suffix combined with the personal endings took the forms: 1st person (sing.) -tu, (plur.) -tum; 2nd person (sing.) -ti or -tai, (plur.) -tir. The use of t in many of the following examples merely shows the intervocal pronunciation like that of the t of the past tense. The agrist t also changed to t and t in combination with the final of the hase. Examples:—

- (1) nigaiti 'you think'.
- (2) kāṇṭi 'please see'.
- (3) ceri, cenri, ekuti ' please go'.
- (4) engi (1) 'you will say'. (2) 'you say'. (3) 'you are in the habit of saying'.
- (5) irattir (1) 'you will beg'. (2) 'you beg'
- (6) vinavutir 'you will ask'.
- (7) katattir 'you cross'.
- (8) variation 'we will come'.
- (9) purify narutum 'we smell of confinement (childbirth)'.
- (10) varuntutum 'we will suffer'.
- (11) ourutum 'we will be with you'.

The above examples show that these t forms constituted an aorist tense. These aorist forms were in extensive use in Old Tamil, but they are now unknown to the spoken Tamil of the people and are but rarely used in literary Tamil having been superseded in both these dialects by tense-forms containing the suffixes-kipu and -kippu. The Old Tamil t forms correspond to the aorist tense in Telugu and must have been in popular use in old times. Their total disappearance from colloquial speech is doubtless due to the confusion between them and the dental past forms.

III. THE K-AORIST

This suffix used sometimes with, sometimes without personal endings, took the following forms:—1st person singular -ku, 1st person plural -kum, 3rd person singular and neuter plural -kum which usually became -um after unaccented roots; but -k was never elided in the 1st person. -Ku and -kum in the 1st person often had an infinitival force. The ordinary personal endings were sometimes added to -ku in the 1st person. Examples:—

- (1) telikku 'I assure (you)' (Kali: 88, 91).
- (2) mey totuku 'I touch (your) body' (=I swear) (Ibid. 95).
- (3) nin ani nalan nukarku 'I will enjoy your graces'. (Pattu: VIII-181.)
- (4) nöfari nan manam ayarkam 'we shall have a proper wedding in public'. (Pattu: VIII-232.)
- (5) ungan arum tuyar kalaikên 'I will remove your unbearable suffering'. (Gilap: XV-6, 68.)
 - (6) yānku arikām ayya 'How can we know, sir'. (Ibid VII-6.)
 - (7) irakku odrēn 'I will not come to beg'. (Patiggu: 61.)
 - (8) nafukku nöy kaimmikum 'The trembling increases'. (Cilap: XVIII.)
 - (9) mayankum en neñou 'my mind reels'. (Ibid.)

- (10) villavańkōtai vēstarku uraikkum "Villavańkōtai replies to the king", (Gilap: XXV, 151.)
- (11) kanku vanticin 'I have come to see'. (Patirru: 16.)
- (12) uraikkēņ, paţarkēn 'I shall say, I shall go'. (Mani: Chap. XI, XII.)

It is obvious from the above examples that -ku in the lst person signified the present or the future. With the personal endings -en, -am, -om it signified the future; such k forms with personal endings are now confined to the negative voice. The use of -kum in the 1st person plural was rare; here -m is the sign of the plural number. -Kum and -um in the 3rd person singular and neuter plural often signified the present in addition to their usual sense of the future and the habitual present; here -m has taken the place of a previous -p.

112. THE P-AORIST

- (a) Tense forms with the -p suffix expressed not only futurity, obligation, promise etc. as in modern Tamil, but were often used with a present signification. One wellknown instance of the use of p (v) to signify the present, which has survived into modern Tamil is in the attestation of documents where each witness writes arivest after his signature, which means 'I know'. The suffix was also extensively used for forming the nomen actionis and the nomen agentis.
 - yān arīkuven atu pattatenru unaippon "He replies saying 'I know how it happened'." (Gilap: Patikam-l. 11.)
 - (2) makil vilā-k-kān pāŋ 'he who witnesses the joyous festival'—that is—'while witnessing the joyous festival'. (Cilap: VI-l. 34.)

- (3) ponnurai kān pēr 'gold assayers'. (Maņi: XXVIII.)
 - (4) varuvārum povārum 'corners and goers'.
 - (5) kolvārum kotuppārum 'buyers and sellers', literally 'receivers and givers'.
 - (6) natavu, utaippu, tirappu, öyen; 'transplanting, breach, opening, cessation'.

These action and agent nouns are also very freely formed in modern Tamil.

(b) The 3rd person epicene plural suffix -mār which formed a future adverbial participle (an infinitive of purpose, in sense) may be mentioned here. (Tolkāppiyam II-209; Naggūl 326.)

A konmar vantar 'They came to lift eattle'; ellumar vantare inku 'They came here intending to deride'.

In these instances and in the other examples given in grammars, mār appears to form agent nouns in the future tense. Ellumār may well be regarded as made up of ellum and at, and konmār of koljum and āt, ār being the ordinary epicene 3rd person plural suffix and ellum and koljum being future relative participles. The forms will then be the same as those of agent nouns referred to below, and it is also seen that they can be replaced in the above examples by elluvār and kolvār.

Cenāvaraiyar, the commentator on Tolkāppiyam explains $k\bar{a}na\bar{p}m\bar{a}r$ and $p\bar{a}ta\bar{p}m\bar{a}r$ as the negatives of the finite verbs $k\bar{a}np\bar{a}r$ and $p\bar{a}tuv\bar{a}r$ (that is as made up of $k\bar{a}n+al+p+ar$ and $p\bar{a}tu+al+v+\bar{a}r$) and that -p and -v have been replaced by -m in the new compound.

113. BENEDICTIVES, INJUNCTIVES, AND PRECATIVES

One of the suffixes -i, -iya, -iyar was added to the root or base and the combination thus formed was used as a benedictive in all persons, numbers, and genders, without any further inflection.

> vali tali 'may you flourish! friend' equivalent to the English 'God bless you! friend'.

rāliya nalaņē 'may good (virtue) flourish'.
vāliyar vēntaņ 'long live the king'.

poy-y-ākiyarō 'may (it) turn out false'. (Puram. 233.)

Benedictives and injunctives were also formed by adding -ka to the base. These were originally used only in the 3rd person as in Old Kanarese, but appear to have been gradually extended to other persons also. These forms had a precative sense in the 2nd person.

kefuka nin avalam 'may your grief disappear'. (Pattu. VI-209.)

poguka til ydstë 'may I get (it)'. (Puram, 306.)
vdrarka tilla 'please do not come' (Kuruntokai 360.)
(Note.—til and tilla express wish.)

114. PEYAREGGAM OR RELATIVE PARTICIPLES

(a) These are of the following types in Modern Tamil: cepta 'that did', cepkinga or cepkina 'that does', and coppute 'that will do'. In Old Tamil the types were ceyta, ceyyum, and ceymmana (Tolkappiyam II-224); thus showing perhaps that kingu and kiru had not come into use as signs of the present tense in those old days. Further ceyyum which now indicates future time was then the present and the aorist relative participle.

- (b) There appears to be no instance of the use of ceymmana as a future participle in Cankam works; but several instances occur in Tolkappiyam itself of verbs with the suffix mana.
 - (1) enmanar pulavar 'learned men say'.
 - (2) tiriyuman payinre (I-172) '(it) will change often'.
- (3) molimanar (II-165) '(they) say'.
 - (4) ieaikkuman collê (II-1) 'words will connote'.
 - (5) mufiyaman porule (II-233) 'the sense will become complete'.

In some of these cases the sense conveyed is not future but indefinite present.

- (c) Agent mann.—In Modern Tamil agent nouns like ceytavan, ceytaval, ceykingavan, ceykingaval, are formed from the relative participles ceyta, and ceykinga, but none from the future participle ceyyum. In Old Tamil such nouns were formed from ceyyum also.
 - (1) unaramor, telipumor 'those that know'.
 - (2) viyakhappatumör 'those that are admired'.
 - (3) koyyumön, välumör 'reaper, residents'.
 - (4) tam kuţi mṛumār 'those that establish (settle) their subjects'.

In Modern Tamil the above words assume the forms unarrow, telivor, viyakkappatuvor, koyvon, valeor, niruppor, or unarpavar, telipavar, viyakkappatupavar, koypavan, valepavar, niruppavar.

Note.—The agent noun nulappanan 'walker, he who walks' from the accented root nula exists also as nulappon, the syllables are being shortened into \(\tilde{\dagger}\). Agent nouns from the unaccented roots key 'cut', val 'reside', teli 'know' etc. should be keyvavan, valleuvan, telivavan etc. and their shortened forms keyvan, valleuvan, telivavan, etc.; but the longer forms exist only as keypavan, valpavan, telipavan, etc. through the operation of the law of dissimilation.

- (d) In Purananuru there are about twenty-five instances in which relative participles of the type expum have -tu added to them. These may be regarded as neuter singular verbs or as agent nouns formed in the above manner.
 - ntikkôţi ktiyppeyar-k-kuntu 'the water-fowl scratching (scratches) the sail'. (395.)
 - (2) micai-p-pāyuntu 'jumping above'. (24.)
 - (3) arryal druntu 'drinking toddy'. (395.)
 - (4) muttākuntu 'becoming pearls'. (380.)
 - (5) karai eerkkuntu 'bringing to the shore'. (343.)

115. VINAIYECCAM OR ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLES

- (a) In Old Tamil these were of the types, ceytu, ceyyû, ceypu, ceytega, ceyyiya, ceyiyar, ceyin, ceya, ceyarku. (Tol. II.)
- (b) Of these, eya and eyarku were infinitives, eeyarku being the fourth case of the verbal noun eya, 'doing'; eyyiya and eyyiyar had mostly an infinitive sense though occasionally used as conjunctive participles also, Ceyin was a subjunctive form, Ceyya and eeyhu were present participles though sometimes used with a past signification; eeytu which included the type kātţi 'having shown' was the conjunctive participle proper, Ceyuna always indicated past time,
- (c) The types ceyvan, natappan, ceypakku of Nannul are not mentioned in Tolkappiyam. But there are a few instances

(three have been counted) of the types counted, natappan in Cankam works. They appear to be imported Malayāļam forms which occur largely in later literature but have failed to secure a place in the popular speech. Kural appears to be the earliest work, in which the suffix pākku occurs.

- (d) There is reason to believe that infinitives of the type ceya like paţikka, pôka, tippa, vara etc., originally ended in l, for there are forms like âţal toţanku în old poetry where we now say âţattoţanku 'begin to dance'. This surmise becomes a certainty when it is seen that geyya and geyyal 'doing' are both regarded as infinitives in Kanarese and that Kanarese grammarians regard the former as arising from the latter by the clision of the final l. (K.K.G., S. 187 (2.). The following instances of the full form may be quoted from Narrinai.
 - (1) alal totatkinal 'she began to weep'. (371.)
 - (2) koyal totankinar 'they began to cut'. (306.)
 - (3) poyal totankina 'they began to pour'. (371.)
- (e) Infinitives and subjunctives of accented roots are always of the form natakka, natakkin, and natakkil, in modern colloquial Tamil. In Old Tamil they were always of the forms natappa and natappin, and formations with double -kkare very rare in really old works. The frequent occurrence of -kk- in infinitives and subjunctives is a sure sign of lateness. Other subjunctive terminations were ēl and āl as in modern Tamil.
- (f) There were no instances of any adverbial present participles, but late in the Cankam period or after the close of it an abortive attempt appears to have been made to form present adverbial participles with the suffix kiggs. Only three or four instances of such participles have been counted.

^{1.} Pari: VII. 1. 57; X. 1. 9; Kali: 97.

Nifu-kingu önkiya oru perunköyil 'a large temple that grew up lengthening', (Mani.)

kulavi alukingu enakku pål tammin när attumin engalatu "When an infant weeps it does not weep saying 'give me milk, wash me'."

This use of kingu may be compared to that of the auxiliary kenfu in colloquial Tamil as in this kenfu 'sleeping'.

116. OTHER SPECIAL PEATURES IN OLD TAMIL

- (a) Inflected verbs used as new bases. The rule that the second person singular imparative is the verbal base itself was often made use of by poets to start a new series of verbal formations from the special forms which this imperative singular occasionally assumed. Thus, in the examples given already, kantai, cent, are special forms of the second imperative singular; from these as bases new finite verbs were formed like kantaippai 'please see' centila 'please go'. Such forms appear to have perplexed commentators who pass them by with the remark that the forms are corrupt.
 - (1) kantaippai 'please see' (Kali. 89.)
 - (2) pantiyat 'he will not come' (Kali. 71.)
 - (3) marantittoy 'you have forgotten' (Kali. 28.)
 - (4) iruntaikka 'please remain (here)' (Cilap. XIX, 67.)
 - (5) kēţtaikka 'please hear' (Cilap. XVIII, 49.)
- (6) venetka vēntan 'may the king be victorious' (Kuraļ 1268.)

In the above examples the inflected forms kan fai, vanti, maranti, iruntai, këtfai, venti are taken as identical with the uninflected bases kan 'see', va 'come', mara 'forget', iru

 Iraiyanār Akapporuļ with Nakkirar's commentary (p. 126). Other instances will be found at page 53, Ibid. 'be', kel 'hear', nel 'conquer' and are inflected a second time.

(b) Kira. This suffix is conspicuous by its absence not only in Old Tamil but also in inscriptions and literature for a long time afterwards. It does not occur at all in Cintāmani or Kamparāmāyanam. As it is not found in Malayāļam, Kanarese, or Telugu, we may conclude that it was a late immigrant into the Tamil land.

Note.—Kiru occurs once in Manimekalai (XXIX, t. 299, 300), but such an isolated instance may really owe its existence to the ignorance of copyists who might not have known that kiru is a late suffix.

- (c) Kingu. This suffix occurs but rarely in Cankam works—the number of occurrences being only about 43 in something like 20,000 lines; it is always found in these works in combination with the verb d 'become' and without personal endings (except in one or two instances) just as kunnu is now used in Malayāļam.
- (1) nakai ūkingrē tūli i it is (has become) matter for laughter, friend', (Nagrinai 245.)
- (2) kanai Skingatu ayya 'it is common talk, Sir' (Narrinai 354.)
- (3) noy ākiŋgē 'it has become painful, distressing'. (Kuruntokai 224.)
- (4) pennuru oru tiran dhingu'one side is a female form'. (Puram. Intro.)
- (5) in inminitu irakkam akingu 'it is grief to think of it now'. (Puram. 243.)

In many of these instances, it is difficult to say whether akingu should be split up as a+kingu and construed 'it becomes', or as aku+in+tu and construed 'it has become';

in one or two instances the latter appears to be the correct interpretation. The use of kingu in finite verbs without personal rerminations is exceedingly rare outside Cankam works. There is only one instance in these works of kingu entering into a relative participle like cykinga. Such relative participles and finite verbs with personal terminations begin to appear in Cilappatikāram and Manimēkalai, and are more frequent in Cintāmani; they are quite common in Kamparāmāyanam and in the religious poetry of the Nāyanmārs and the later Āļvārs. The earliest inscriptions in Malabar being in Tamil, kinga has found its way into Malayāļam literature.

Note.—A relative participle with kipra—cērkipra-occurs once in Paripāṭal (XXII-l-25); ākipratu occurs twice in Narriṇai (227, 354) and ākiprēp occurs once in Kalittokai (108). But for reasons already stated such isolated instances should not be relied upon as evidencing the use of such relative participles and verb-forms in the Cankam period. Even if such occasional use is admitted its infrequency will show that the suffix was then new and just coming into vogue. Kingu occurs a few times without personal terminations in the poetry of the Alvars¹; in two or three of these the forms may be construed as verbal nouns.

- (d) kun. This suffix spelt indifferently as kun or kin was used extensively to form the nomen agentis in cases where modern Tamil uses kin or kinn. Such formations were decidedly on the decrease at the time of the twin epics and are scarce now.
 - (1) mykunar=neykiravar='weavers'.
 - (2) min piţikkunar=min piţikkiravar 'fishermen'.

Tiruvāymoļi 1-4-9; I-10-5; V-1-1, 7.

- (3) āfuņar, pāfuņar, ceruņar='dancers, songaters, warriors'.
- (e) Special expletive. Tolkappiyam enumerates a large number of expletives, many of which are used with the imperative second person; these appear to be terms of address or remnants of old conjugations which had fallen into disuse even in the time of that ancient grammar. Some of the more important of these expletives are miyā, ika, mō, mafi, ikum, ciā (II-274). Of these ciā is referred to as iciā by later writers; this and ikum may also be used with persons other than the second. Iciā is always used with the past verbal participles and there are about a hundred instances of its use in the works of the Gańkam period.
- Kantu vanticine "I came seeing i.e., I saw as I was coming". (Patiggu. 15.)
 - (2) uraitticin 'please say' (Ainkuru. 59.)
 - (3) këtticin 'please hear' (Kuruntokai 30.)
- (4) uyamticinôr 'great men'; literally 'elevated men'(Puram. 214.)
- (5) kantikum allāmō 'Have we not seen?' (Ainkuru.
 - (6) kanţika, kanţai, kanţaikka, kanika 'see!' (Kali, 105.)
 - (7) kantiku 'see'.
 - (8) enrika 'go', 'may (he, she, it or they) go'.

These expletives have no counter-parts in the other Dravidian languages and will not be examined in detail in this book.

4. MALAYALAM

117. (a) PERSONAL ENDINGS

This question whether personal endings were ever in use in popular speech in Malabar is referred to briefly by Gundert in his Grammar; he seems to think that, as these endings are found used in poetry and old prose works, it may be inferred that they were once current in popular speech also but have since been discontinued. (G.M.G., S. 198.) Mr. Seshagiri Prabhu discusses this question in para. 155 of his Vyākaranāmṛtam; he says that tense forms are used with and without personal terminations in poetry but that such terminations are wholly wanting in prose works. He suggests the possibility that the partial use of personal endings in poetry in imitation of Tamil might have been necessitated by the exigencies of metre, but leaves the question unsettled as he thinks that it is difficult of decision. As already indicated it is assumed in this work that the Dravidians were at one time using as finite verbs what have since come to be regarded as participles. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Malayalam, which in other respects has changed the least since ancient times, still preserves the old habit of using participles as tense forms and it is unnecessary to assume that the people adopted the use of personal endings at one time and have again discontinued their use. Malabar literature and inscriptions have been greatly influenced by Tamil.

(b) STRONG AND WEAK VERBS

The classification of roots is the same as in Tamil, but Malayalam grammarians give the names 'strong' and 'weak' to the two classes which have been designated above as 'accented' and 'unaccented'; this is a mere question of names and is of no importance. It is, however, different when these grammarians take the stem of the verb to be the form which it assumes in the infinitive, not the simpler form which it has in the 2nd imperative singular. Thus nadakka 'to walk', kodukka 'to give', kelkka 'to hear', pōka 'to go', are taken as stems instead of nada, kodu, kēl, pō. This has the effect of obscuring the real nature and form of all suffixes beginning with k. Thus the suffix of the present tense which really is kunnu becomes unnu in Malayalam grammars as the initial k is removed from the suffix in the analysis of nadakkunnu as nadakka+unnu instead of nada+kunnu. In this book the 2nd person singular is taken as the base or stem of Malayalam verbs. Bishop Caldwell thought that the Malayalam present tense suffix was kunnu, a modified form of the Tamil suffix kinnu. (C.D.G. pp. 384-4.)

118. THE PRESENT TENSE

The suffix, which is also the termination, is kunyu, the initial of which is generally clided after unaccented bases, kelkkunnu. kedunnu. Example :-nadakkunnu. Dr. Gundert thinks that the present tense suffix was formerly-igru (corrupt form innu) and that this was subsequently changed to unnu (G, M, G., S, 303); that is to say, he derives the Malayal am suffix kunnu from the Tamil suffix kingu of the inscriptions and literature. It seems more reasonable, however, to assume that the forms kings and kungs must have developed independently of each other, though both are perhaps derived, as will be indicated later, from the same Aryan source. The form kiggu, originally kiggu, must have come from the Tamil country and the latter occurs in the Travancore Tamil inscriptions of the 10th and 11th Centuries A.D. 'The forms valking and valing 'ruling' occur in the inscriptions of the time of Sthanu Ravi, and cerkinga 'doing' occurs in an inscription of the time of Bhaskara Ravi Varman. (T.A.S., 1916, pp. 67, 80, 40.) The latest occurrences of kingu traceable in published inscriptions are found in an inscription of 1603 belonging to the time of Vira Ravi Varman where the forms aralinga 'gracing', and kollinga 'taking' occur. (T. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 176-77.) The suffix kunga appears in the Parür Romo-Syrian inscription of 1624 (T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 300) where we have the relative participle cellunga 'passing' and in the Pälayam plates of 1662 embodying the agreement between the Dutch East India Company and the Royal family of Cochin, the Malayālam forms in kungu are freely used. (T. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 30 et seq.) The suffix kungu corrupted later into kungu and derived probably from an original Tamil-Malayālam stock must have been in use among the lower classes, while kingu and kingu, which it ultimately supplanted, were confined to literature and inscriptions.

119. THE PAST TENSE

The suffixes of the past verbal participle which is also used as the tense form are the same as in Tamil—viz., tu, du (intervocal t) and i, but the conjunct consonants in the participles have become palatalized or otherwise modified; thus -viu has become -vu has become -vu after y and palatal vowels, -ndu has become -ñju and -ñña after y and palatal vowels, and -vu in other cases. Example:—

- (1) irunnu, nadannu, parannu.
- (2) padiceu, ceyiccu, mêyceu, parthi.
- (3) ödi, katti, enni.
- (4) Ідійји, автји, теупји; ідінйи, авти, теуппи, сепри, геври, копри.

120. (a) THE FIRST FUTURE TENSE

(a) The suffix-termination is kum, the initial k of which is doubled after accented roots and generally elided after the unaccented. Example:—

kedukkum, kelkkum, akum, pôkum, śudum, ulum.

(b) The second future tense. In poetry and old literary works the final -m of the first future forms are often found omitted and the preceding u sometimes lengthened also. Sometimes the future takes the terminations pu which becomes eu, vu after unaccented roots; vu becomes mu after nasal stems.

These forms are collected by grammarians under the head 'second future tense' and it is to these forms that personal endings are found added in literature. Example:—koduppu, vayppu, śelvu, pôvu, kodukkuván, rakşikkuvan, vilvan, mudivar, tirppan, un mu, tinmu, kanmu.

121. OTHER FINITE AND MISCELLANEOUS VERB FORMS

- (a) Relative participles. The present and past relative participles are formed by adding a to the corresponding tense forms. The future relative participle is the first future form. Example:—
 - (1) nadakkunna, ödunna, varunna.
 - (2) ōdiya, ēriya, konna, padicea, alinja.
 - (3) kedukkum, pôkum, cudum.

Agent nouns are formed from all these relative participles and from the second future forms.

- (1) nadakkunnavan.
- (2) ēriyavay.
- (3) vālumavan, idumavan, vālvavan, iripyan, colluvar.
- (a) Imperative. The imperative second person singular is the root or base itself. The plural appears to be a future form and is obtained by adding -in to the second future. Example:—

(Singular) 10, iru, kodu.

(Plural) caravin, kanmin, ankin, nilpin, kelpin.

(b) Optation. The optative is obtained by adding-ker to the root or base and is the same for all numbers, persons and genders. The initial -k of this suffix is doubled after accented roots and never elided after unaccented roots. Example:—

kodukka, taruka, karuka, ceyka, tiduka.

(c) Permissive imperative. There is another optative called also permissive imperative, which is obtained by adding the to the ancient form of the infinitive to be mentioned presently. This is used only in the first and third persons. Example:—

irikkatte, pokatte, zaratte.

- (d) These forms correspond to the permissive imperatives in kattu and kattum of Tamil; they must therefore be regarded as obtained by adding katte to the root, k being elided after unaccented roots.
- (e) Infinitives. The following ancient forms occur in literary works:—nafakka, ceyya, āfa, tara, tinna, ariya—in which k has disappeared after unaccented roots as in Tamil. In colloquial language, however, the k appears in every infinitive:—

tinnuka 'to eat', ceyka 'to do', aduka 'to play', taruka 'to give', arika 'to know'.

Forms of the types of twon, kanman, natappan are infinitives of purpose in common use. These are supposed to be formed by adding -an to the second future.

- (f) Subjunctives. These are formed by adding -al to the past verbal participle or -il to the base; in the latter case a -k- always intervenes between the base and the suffix as in colloquial infinitives. Example:—
 - (1) kotuttāl, pukkāl, kattiyāl, paticcāl.
 - (2) akil, unkil, ceykil, colkil, varikil.

- (g) Causals. These are formed as in Tamil by adding -pi (ppi) to accented roots and -ri to some unaccented roots; but most unaccented roots add only -i. Examples:—
 - (1) appi, pūppi (pukuppi), kappi (kalpi).
 - (2) arivi, ceyvi, peruvi, taruvi.
 - (3) kani, colli, vali,

As in Tamil, the old causal bases corresponding to the conjugations of the pro-Dravidian period exist side by side with the above forms. Example:—

kāni kāffu; nadappi nadattu; varuvi varuttu; adakkippi adakku.

Norm.—Dr. Gundert thinks that forms like nadappi and arivi arise by adding i to the verbal nouns in -pu and -vu. The explanation given in this book is different.

5. KANARESE

122. THE FINAL S OF KANARESE BASES

(a) There are apparently no roots or verbal bases in modern Kanarese which end in consonants, bases formerly ending in consonants having been lengthened by a final u. It cannot be said that this u was put in as a help to enunciation, for it is found added even to roots which formerly ended in vowels—I 'bring forth', mi 'bathe', bē 'be burnt up', nōy 'pain', sāy 'die'—which have now become Iyu, mīu, bēyu, nōyu, sāyu. In Old Kanarese, on the other hand, it was only roots ending in explosives and sibilants that required a final enunciative u. Examples:—

alku 'fear' oggu 'meet together, join'
naccu 'trust' maju 'hide'
kuffu 'beat' adu 'play'
mutfu 'surround' pordu 'join'

tabbu 'commit an error' tabbu 'embrace' nagisu 'cause to laugh' tirchu 'finish'

In the formation of the present-future relative participles and the future tense almost every root is now assumed to end in u or may be so assumed.

- (b) It will be pointed out hereafter that in Tamil-Malayāļam a pleonastic suffix -ku was always interposed between the base and the future tense signs pu-vu or m, and that in the case of unaccented roots the combined suffix -kum has now mostly become -um in these two languages. As the Tamil-Malayāļam future m appears as v in Kanarese, and as all bases in the latter languages are unaccented, the u in the present-future participles mījuna, nājuna etc., probably corresponds to the u of the um of Tamil-Malayāļam.
- (c) If we were certain that the initial s of the Kanarese present participle suffixes -utā, uttā is radical and not taken over from the base, we can give an additional explanation of the almost universal use of the final u which obtains at present in Kanarese bases. These suffixes are unknown to Tamil-Malayalam and probably did not exist in pro-Dravidian. In their original forms -uttum, utte, -uttam, they were probably just coming into use when Kanarese first comes within our ken in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries of the Christian era in the inscriptions of the Western Chālukya and Rāṣṭrakūta kings. Forms like beyuttā, noyuttā, nadeyuttā, and iyutum, side by side with kaduttum 'fighting', inte 'throwing', kettute 'quivering', where the explosives and sibilant bases undoubtedly required an enunciative -4, would naturally lead to the assumption that in the former cases also the uninflected forms were beyn, noyu, nadeyn, and iyu.

123. THE PRESENT TENSE SUFFIXES -utd, utia.

This is a tense formed by adding the personal endings to present verbal participles which are as follows:—initia,

iruttā, nadejuttā, baruttā, nōjuttā, alūtā etc. The following is the paradigm of the verb substantive iru 'be':-

Singular	Plural
1. irutēne	irutāve
2. iruti, iruti	iruffri
3. irulane]	irutāre
irutales	
irutade	irutāve, irut

This tense form is entirely a creation of modern times; in the ancient and mediaevel dialects the present verbal participles were always used in subordinate constructions as follows:—

rājyam geyutt-ire 'while reigning'.

āļutt-ire 'while ruling'.

nādutta bandam 'he came seeing'.

The forms of the suffixes as given by Dr. Kittel appear also to have differed slightly in various periods. They were -uttu and utte in the oldest period, -utum, ute, and uttum in the ancient and mediaeval dialects, -utum, somewhat later in the mediaeval, -utu and uttu in the mediaeval and the modern, and -utu and -uttu in the modern (196, 172).

These suffixes are apparently related to the present tense suffixes -tun and tā of Telugu, and it is doubtful whether their initial u is radical. This u does not appear in the present tense forms of any of the Kanarese dialects dealt with in the next section.

The theory elaborated in K.K.G. 173 that utu the primitive form of these suffixes is a variant of the pronominal utu has little to recommend it.

The final s in the first and third persons of the paradigm above is stated by Dr. Kittel to have been added for the sake of emphasis (K.K.G. 196). This is not a satisfactory explanation. Why should the present alone, of all the tenses, require an emphasis? And why should this e be unnecessary in the tense forms of the second person? According to a list given by Bishop Caldwell (C.D.G. p. 512) the pronouns in the Kōta language, a dialect of Kanarese, have an e attached to them except in the second person singular:—
(1) dne, nôme; (2) ni, nies; (3) avane, avare. If the Kanarese present tense which is entirely a creation of modern times was developed in a dialect which had pronouns like the Kota pronouns, there will be an e at the end of all the forms of the tense except those of the second person singular; this is probably the correct explanation of the final e.

124. The old present tense suffixes toppa on dappa.

In old Kanarese the present tense was formed with a suffix having the above form and supposed to be made up of the past verbal participle suffix -tu or du and the present future participle of the base agu, 'be, become'.

> Kudidappem 'I drink' Kaltappam 'he learns' Endappem 'I say' Nadedappanu 'he walks'

Here kudidappem according to the above explanation is a compound form made up of kudidu 'having drunk' and appem 'I shall be', 'I am'.

In the mediaeval period when the p's were generally converted into h's the verbs formed as above took forms like kugidahem, kaltahanu, endahem, naqedahanu. In modern Kanarese this h has disappeared in most cases and the vowels of the personal endings have been lengthened, thus giving rise to forms like the following:—

bandēnu (baru 'come'), nudidaru (nudi 'speak'), ādēm (agu 'be'). Further in the case of a bases a practice has grown up of using the participles mādi, nodi, kut ti, etc. in the formation of this tense instead of madidu, nodidu, kuttidu etc. as in the old times. Thus the tense forms now are:—

mādyēnu, mādēnu, mādyēvu, mādēvu, instead of mādidēnu, mādidēvu.

Dr. Kittel notes also a change in the meanings of these tense forms and remarks that the ancient and mediaeval present tense which has been corrupted in the above manner "is now-a-days used to convey the idea of uncertainty or possibility, and may be called the contingent present-future tense". (K.K.G. 195.) It would seem, however, that a future sense was always inherent in the tense, for appear, appare etc. are future by formation; and Dr. Kittel himself gives at page 429 of his grammar an instance of this present used in a future tense:—

Akka ninage tandappen 'I shall bring for thee, sister'.

125. THE PAST TENSE

This is obtained by adding the personal endings to the past verbal participles of verbs. The following examples will illustrate the ways in which these participles are formed.

tilidu (tili 'perceive')

karedu (kare 'call')

sattu (sāyu 'die')

uttu (uļu 'plough')

tindu (tinu 'eat')

āsattu (āsaru 'become weary')

mutti (muttu 'surrosind')

tilidu (ili 'descend')

padedu (pade 'acquire')

ittu (tyu 'give')

miltu (nilu 'stand')

kondu (kollu 'kill')

tattu (taru 'happen')

kuṭṭi (kuṭṭu 'beat')

Most u bases now form their verbal participles with the suffix i, but in forming the past tense of such bases a d is interposed between the suffix and the personal endings; that is to say, the personal endings are added to a hypothetical participle in -idu. In the case of bases not ending in u of which the participles end in -du or -tu or the modifications which these undergo in combination with the final consonants of the bases the personal endings are added directly to the participles. Thus Kanarese adheres, and has always adhered, to a dental suffix in the formation of its past tense. This dental is predominatingly d, but it appears also exceptionally as t, chiefly in some i, s, n, and r stems, and undergoes other modifications in some other cases.

Example :- antu, niltu, uttu (ultu), artu, mādidenu, nudiday, kēldiri, āsattaru.

Note 1.—From the universal appearance of a dental in the past tense forms, in the past relative participles, and in the old present tense in tappa (dappa), we may infer that the past verbal participles formerly ended always in du, idu, tu, and that the participles in i were a later innovation which have not succeeded in finding their way into tense forms.

Note 2.—The initial hypothesis in this book is that the Dravidians originally used verbal participles in the place of finite verbs and that personal endings were subsequently added to these participles; and in accordance with this hypothesis all tense forms are derived from verbal participles. This method differs from that of Dr. Kittel who derives the past and future tenses of Kanarese from the corresponding relative participles.

126. THE FUTURE TENSE

The sign of this tense and of the corresponding relative participles called the present-future participle by Dr. Kittel is v. Examples:—

Root Relative participle		Tense form (1st person singular)	
baru 'come'	barupa	baruvenu	
pūjisu 'worship'	þa fisuva	pūjisuvenu	
belagu 'shine'	belaguva	belaguvenu	
un 'eat'	иппина	unnuvenu	
tin 'cat'	tinnuva	tinnuvenu	
nudi 'speak'	mudiyuva	nudiyavenu	
nade 'walk'	nadeyuva	nadeyuvenu	

Modern Kanarese effects this uniformty of formation by the device of inserting a n between the tense-sign and the base. In old and mediaeval Kanarese there were many future forms with p, b, and h, instead of with v. (K.K.G. 183.) Thus:—

 baru 'come' and iru 'be' which were formerly written bar and ir, as also tar 'give', kūr 'love' and gōr 'fish' had relative participles with p:—

barpa, irpa, tarpa, kūrpa, and gōrpa; the p of these forms could be doubled.

In the mediaeval dialect the first four of these appear as bappa, ippa, tappa and kupa (for kuppa).

- Similarly many bases ending in f, l, and n used p in the future; -mārpa (mār 'do'), ārpa (ār 'be strong'), agaļpa (agaļ 'dig'), ānpa (ān 'touch, meet').
- Some bases ending in n and n used b:—unba, umba (un 'eat'), enba, emba (en 'say'), tinba, timba, (tin 'eat'), nānba (nan 'get wet'). Most of these could also use b alternatively in the modern dialect.
- In causal and other stems formed by suffixing iss or su to the roots and in bases ending in gu there were two

ways of forming the future in the ancient dialect. Either the swas added as now, or the last syllable m or guwas elided and pa was added. The p of this pa could be doubled in causal verbs and not in others, unless the penultimate vowel of the base was short. Examples:—

pājipa, pājippa 'worshipping'; alapa, alappa 'shaking'; belapa, belappa, 'shining'; āguva, appa, apa becoming; pāguva, pāpa, hopa 'going'.

 In the mediaeval dialect the forms appa, ippa, tappa, bappa etc. became alta, iha, taha, baha etc.

The above examples seem to show that the original future suffix was p, and that v has arisen from the soft pronunciation of p after unaccented roots. This p was doubled after the causal i and some other short vowels, thereby showing the existence of accent at a remote period on the final short vowels of bases. But the p had become weakened into v even in the ancient dialect thereby showing that there has been no stress on the final vowel in the known history of the language.

A special conjugation confined only to the third person and with suffixes kum, gum, ku, gu, was formerly in vogue and was used in all tenses without variation for number or gender. The most common of these suffixes was gum which was added to most verbal bases ending in consonants and vowels. Kum appears to have been used chiefly after some l, l, r, and n bases; ku appears late in the ancient dialect and gu occurs only in the mediaeval. Causal and other bases formed by means of the suffix uu may drop the particle su and take kum; khum was an alternative for kum in verbs of Sanskrit derivation. Examples:—mādugum, padegum, nadegum; irkum, tarkum, nilkum, torku, etegu, eningu, enikum; vartisugu, vartikku. (K.K.G. 203.)

This conjugation has now gone out of use and its only remnants in Modern Kanarese are bekn and sakn. Bekn of which belkn is the fuller form is derived from bedn (Tamil bendn, Telugu Vēdu) and has the same meaning as the Tamil vendum 'it is wanted'. Saku or Salkn is derived from sal and has the same meaning as Tamil salum, Telugu chalumu 'enough'.

Note.—The doubling of k in verbs of Sanskrit derivation with the elision of m shows that the suffix in such verbs was originally only i and that there was an accent on it before it became extended by su. It is also obvious that kum and ku were the original suffixes and that gum and gu arise from the soft pronunciation of k.

127. IMPERATIVES

The forms brought together by Dr. Kittel (K.K.G. 205) under the head Imperatives include not only Imperatives proper but also Optatives and Benedictives. It is not however, necessary for the purpose of this book to separate, these forms.

- (a) Future forms used as Imperatives etc .-
 - Imperative first person singular is the same as the first person singular of the future tense.
 Example—māduvem, māduve, māduvenu 'I shall do' i.e., 'let me do.'
- (2) Imperative first person plural—Suffixes am, a, ā, anu, anaa, and na are added to the present future participles. Am a contracted form of ām 'we' was used in the ancient dialect; this ām became merely a in the mediaeval dialect; in the modern dialect a, ā, am, ana, and ana all originating from the old am are used.

Example—(1) mödwam (2) mödwa (3) madwa, mödwa, mödwa, mödwan, mödwan, mödwa, 'let us do'.

(3) Imperative second and third persons—The third person neuter singular of the future tense is used for both singular and plural.

Example—māduvadu in the modern, māduvudu in the ancient and mediaeval dialects.

(b) Suffix ali. First and Third persons

This suffix is not found in the ancient dialect. It is used in the mediaeval dialect in the third person and in the modern dialect in the first and third persons.

Example-mādali 'let (me, us, him, her, it, or them) do'.

(c) Suffixes go, ke, kke. Third person

These suffixes were used in the singular and plural of the third person in the ancient and mediaeval dialects.

Example-Ige 'let him etc. give' malke 'let him etc. do'.

- (d) Suffixes a, im, i, iri. Second person
 - Singular—The verbal base itself or the base with the suffix a in all the three dialects. Example: m@du, m@da, 'do (thou)'.
 - (2) Plural—The suffix im, a contracted form of nim, im 'you' was used in the ancient dialect; this im became i in the mediaeval and modern dialects which also use the suffix iri pronounced ari by the vulgar. Example: mādim, mādi, mādiri, 'do you'.
- (e) It is evident from (a) above that from very ancient times the tense which had p, v, or b for its sign represented not merely futurity but also implied obligation or promise; compare the following quotations from ancient inscriptions.

- ör-m-mattarge ir-k-kuļa jölam kuduvudu 'Two kuļar of jölam (zonna) should be given for each mattar of land'. (I.A. Vol. X, p. 167—about 700 A.D.)
- (2) I sthānaman -aļva goravar akhandita brahmachāri-yapudu, 'The Saiva mendicants holding this office should practise celibacy,' (E.I. Vol. VII, p. 201—about 865 A-D.)
- (3) Brahmacharyya hinaran i samayada goravarkkai kalevor. 'The Goravars of this community shall remove those who break the vow of celibacy.' (ibid.)

128. MISCELLANEOUS VERB FORMS

Infinitives—These end in al, also or a, the last of these arising from the loss of the final l in al. As in Tamil the following senses:—

 for the purpose of, (2) so as to, so that, (3) at the time that, when, while.

In the first of these senses the fourth case of the verbal noun in al or alu is also used. The suffix e—sometimes ge is also used in the third of the above senses. (K.K.G. 187, 188, 365.)

unal bandam 'he came to eat.'

mudiyalke bandam 'he came to speak,'

arthi, bēdal, dāniyitlam 'when the beggar, begged the liberal man gave.'

gāyakam pāde devam mechchidam 'when the singer sang the king was pleased'.

The above examples illustrate the use of the infinitive in old and mediaeval Kanarese. In the modern dialect the use of al is confined to the so-called passive construction as in iral patta, kēļalpatta etc. and the use of the suffix e appears to be confined to poetry.

Subjunctives—The conditional was formed in the ancient and mediaeval dialects by adding certain suffixes to the present-future and past relative participles; in the modern dialect the suffix is added to the past relative participle.

The suffixes were ede in the ancient and mediaeval dialects, ade in the mediaeval, and are in the mediaeval and in the modern: ede being the original form of which the other two are corruptions apparently. (K.K.G. 314.)

Example :--

baruttiddare	'if (you) are coming.'
këliddare	'if (I) had listened to.
illadiddare	'if (the sun) were not in existence.

129. CAUSAL BASES

The most usual causative suffix is is which appears as su in bases ending in y, l, e, i and occasionally asu. In the ancient and mediaeval dialects the common suffix was chu in the case of bases ending in r, l, l, l and occasionally ichu was affixed in the mediaeval dialect. (K.K.G. 151.)

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iru 'be'
en, enu 'say'
hāku 'put'
kā, kāy, 'guard'
kāy, kāyu, 'grow hot'
niţţu, 'length'
talir 'shoot, sprout'
alal 'grieve'

Causal base

irisu	
enisu, enasu	
hākisu, hākai kāyisu	
kāyisu, kāsu	į
nițțisu tațirolu	
alaldu	1

Origi	nal verb	Causal base
uruf	*roll*	uruļisu uruļchu urulichu
magul	'turn round, return'	magulchu magulisu
keral	'cry, shout'	keralchu keralichu
tīru, tīr	'be finished'	tirisu tirchu
sor }	'drop, drip'	sörchu
som J		sõrisu

The suffix added to Sanskrit words to form verbs is also isn. In the ancient and mediaeval dialects a suphonic v was interposed between Sanskrit words ending in vowels and the suffix; in the mediaeval dialect this suphonic v is occasionally changed into v. (K.K.G. 151.)

Examples :-

(sans)	bhram 'roam, wander'	bramisu
(sans)	suddha 'clean'	Suddhavisu
(sans)	bhinna 'different'	bhinnavisu
(sans)	tara 'high shrill'	t/remissu

130. EARLY LOSS OF ACCENT IN KANARESE

(a) Reference has already been made to the alternative forms assumed by causal stems and roots of Sanskrit derivation in the present-future inflection and in the special conjugation in kum, gum:

> enisuva enipa; pūjisuva, pūjippa; enisugu, enikum; vartisugu, vartikkum.

Bases with the suffix gu had also alternative forms in the present-future inflection: belaguva, belapa, belappa: tolaguva,

tolappa, tolapa. The forms in which as is rejected take us to a stage of the language in which causal stems and stems of Sanskrit derivation ended only i and show that the real causative suffix is i and not as supposed by Dr. Kittel. (K.K.G. 151.) The forms in which gu is elided take us to a stage in which belagu, tolagu etc., were merely bela, tola etc.

(b) The above alternative forms also show that there was once a stress on the final short vowel of verbs; but this must have been long antecedent to the date of even the earliest inscriptions. For even in the records of the Chālukya kings we have forms like the following:

alivon for Tamil alippon 'destroyer' alidon for Tamil alitton 'he who destroyed' padedor for Tamil padaittor 'he who obtained' pudidudu for Tamil putaittatu 'fixed in the ground'

These are all transitive verbs strongly accented in Tamil.

As already noted in 122-3 there are a considerable number of exceptional cases in which the tenues t, p, k are still retained though the roots have lost their accent.

131. BIJAPURI

The Kanarese spoken in Bijapur is locally known as Bijapuri, but it does not differ so much from the standard form of the language as to deserve to be called a separate dialect. (L.S. Vol. IV, p. 381.)

The dialect sometimes uses contracted forms instead of the fuller forms of the standard. The conjugation of verbs is mainly regular. The pronominal suffixes are very commonly dropped in the first and third persons singular:

> andā for andanu 'he said', hōdā 'he went' hōde 'I went', koṭṭa 'he gave', bandā 'he came'

The following forms deviating from the standard may be noted.

sāyatāne 'I die', yeļatēni 'I will arise.'
kōgatēni 'I will go', antēnu 'I will say.'
sattavā 'who was dead', kōdavā 'who had gone.'

132. GOLARI OR HOLIYA

This is the dialect spoken by the Gölars or Gölkərs and Höliyas of the Central Provinces. The former are a nomadic tribe of herdsmen and the latter are a low caste of leather workers and musicians. (p. 385.)

- (a) The short final vowel of verbal forms is usually dropped. Gölari in this respect agrees with old Kanarese. We also find a final m in the 3rd person singular as in old Kanarase. The past tense of bases ending in u is formed by adding d directly to the consonant preceding u without inserting an i; the same principle also prevails in old Kanarese. (387.)
 - sikdun for sikdanu 'has been found.'
 kyāļdum for kēļdanu 'he heard'; nördun for nöndanu 'he saw.'

mardun for maddams 'he did.'

Another peculiarity is that these shortened tense forms ending in dun are employed in places where it will be sufficient to use conjunctive participles.

> (2) säythin (p. 390), säitin (392) for säyuttene 'I die'; tintän (392) for tinuttäne 'he eats'; antän (394) for anuttēne 'I will say'; märtan (393) for mäduttäne 'he makes,'

In these instances the verbs undergo contractions by the dropping of the final vowels and the elision of the intermediate u. These shortened tense forms are also used as participles :--

dürum (far from) nödrum (saw)
appu (the father) magun (the son)
bartan (coming) (392)

(3) hōgāin 'I will go'; anāin 'I will say'; tināi for Tināin 'I will eat' (392), mādēva 'we will make' (391).

These may be regarded as corrupt or contracted forms of what the authors of the Linguistic Survey call the second future and what Dr. Kittel calls the contingent presentfuture. (K.K.G. 195.)

- (4) āhām, āhān 'he is'; nittun, nuttum 'he stayed.' In these two instances a final m is used alternatively in the third person masculine. (pp. 388-9, 390, 392.)
- (b) Conjunctive participles such as mād-ke 'having done', huk-ke 'having gone' are due to the influence of the surrounding Aryan dialects. The same is probably also the case with forms such as yud-kô 'arising', andôkô 'saying' etc. (p. 387.)

Though the dialect forms its past tense with the dental sighs t and d it seems to have forgotten the conjunctive participles from which such past tense forms have arisen and hardly uses them except in compound tenses such as sōt-hōgidun 'dead gone was', kadd-hōgidun 'lost gone was', tindbūṭun 'had eaten' where the suffixes tu, du appear to be used (391). Instead of these old conjunctive participles the dialect has formed new ones by adding suffixes ke, kō, etc. to the bases in imitation of Aryan dialects. The subjoined lists give the participles occurring in the four specimens

received from four different localities for purposes of the Linguistic Survey; it will be seen that the suffixes have not the same form in all the specimens.

- (1) ming-kyā, ming-kyō 'sleeping', tera-kō 'having opened', kall-kō 'having stolen', itakō 'having been kept', hid-kō 'having stolen', hōgyō 'having gone', (pp. 388-9.)
 - (2) mād-ke 'having made', kuk-ke 'having gone', vad-kō 'having arisen', nōd-ke 'having seen', ōd-ke 'running'. (pp. 390-1.)
 - (3) sōch-kō 'thinking' (p. 392).
 - (4) Tā-kō 'talking', hōk-ki 'having gone', teda-kū 'having arisen', ōd-ki 'having run', tind-ku 'eating' and an-ku 'saying' (pp. 394-5).

It will be seen from below under the section 'Present' Tense Suffixes' that there are similar variations in the forms of the suffixes in the Aryan dialects which Golari has imitated.

133. KURUMVARI

This dialect is spoken by Kurumvars, a wild pastoral tribe in Chanda. These seem to be identical with the Kurbas or Kurumbars of the Nilgiri Hills and neighbouring districts.

Words undergo contractions by the omission of intermediate and short final vowels. The d of the past tense is usually dropped; when the base ends in s, however, the past tense sign is retained. Though a dialect of Kanarese, Kurumvari agrees in many respects with Telugu and differs from the other language (396-7).

 antdu for anuttade 'she says'; antunalla for anuttanealla 'he says'; tarturn for tarutāne 'he brings'; kānistaru for kānisuttare 'they appear'; koḍtadu

- for keduttade 'it gives'; keldu for kelladu 'bad thing' (399).
- (2) mādenu for mādidenu 'I did'; ögine for ögidanu 'he went'; jami-ādini for jami-ādidenu 'he collected'; andade (anditu) 'she said.'
- (3) verbal participle—Ad-kunta iddaru 'were playing'

134. BADAGA

Badaga is spoken by the Badagas of Nilgris. It is a very socient form of Kanarese. Thus the sounds ξ and τ are still found in it ϵ, g , makklu 'children', hornivi 'put on'. The 3rd person masculine termination ends in \hat{m} ; the pronoun of the first person is $n\hat{a}m$ 'I', dative, yenaga 'to me.' The past tense of the verbs agrees with old Kanarese. As in Tamil th is substituted for s (401).

- anam 'he'; appant 'father'; emm 'this man'; kunnusain 'the younger'; takkavain 'fit man'; keffavain 'had man'; sattavain 'dead man'; hōdavain 'who had gone'.
- (2) nām 'P; ninnadutām 'thine alone'
- (3) [Klegidam 'he sent'; māgidem 'I did'
 ikkidam 'he gave'; māgidam 'he made'
 korachidam 'he called'; gidem 'I served'
 ennam 'he said'; bannam 'he came'
 paftam 'he felt'; iddam 'he was'
- (4) manicha 'man'; dēcha 'country' chīle 'robe'; baricha 'year'
- (b) Other points worthy of note are :-
- (1) Though ch is substituted for s, the causal verbs invariably retain the sibilant: mādiside '(thou) hast caused to be made'; hōgisivi 'put on'; korachniyumbadu 'to be called

- (2) The conjunctive participles are invariably made with the suffixes tu and i.
- (3) The infinitives are the datives of verbal nouns ending in du mostly.

āpaduga 'to become'; mēsoduga (mēsuvaduga) 'to feed or graze': tumbisoduga (tumbisuvaduga) 'to fill'; korachisiyumbaduga 'to cause to be called'; barak-ollandu 'refusing to come'.

(4) The following tense forms may be noted: sattane "I die"; iddane "he is"; hadade "isobtained"; idde "thou art".

7. TELUGU

135. One advantage which Telugu has over the other Dravidian languages is that with a single exception its pronouns end in different syllables:—(1) m, mu; (2) vu, ru; (3) ndu; or du; ru; di, vi. This fact enables it to contruct its tense forms by affixing these single syllables to its participles without interfering with the forms of the tense suffixes. Another feature in Telugu is that all its verbal bases end in an enunciative n which disappears before tense suffixes beginning with a vowel; this appears to have been the case even from before the time of Šaktikomara of Rēnāndu seven thousand, that is to say, from the 8th century probably. How this has been brought about and what changes Telugu has introduced in the roots which it inherited from the pre-Dravidian language will be apparent from the following comparison of some Telugu bases with the corresponding Tamil roots.

Tamil	Telugu	Tamil	Telugu
idu 'give'	idu	nadd 'walk'	naduchu
titfu 'abuse'	tiffu	maga (Kan) 'forget'	marachu
\$al 'be sufficient'	chalu	tiga 'open'	terachu

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TELUCU

Tamil	Telegu	Tamil	Telegu
tip 'eat' kān 'sec' nada 'walk' uri 'peel' nali 'crush'	tinu kanu nadachu oluchu naluchu	sey 'do' koy 'cut' kala 'mix' neyvi 'cause to be Woven'	chēyu kōyu kalayu nē yinchu
kudi 'drink' koyvi 'cause to	kuguchu kō yinchu	kattuni 'cause to be built'	katt inchu
be cut'		path (Sans) 'read'	pathinchu

Roots ending in u in Tamillike idu and tiffu are adopted without change, while roots ending in consonants like fal, kan, and tin, have an enunciative a affixed to them. Some roots generally corresponding, but not always, to accented roots in Tamil have a chu affixed to them, while kala has yu affixed to it; others like sey and key have an apparent a added to them, but the addition is really yu. The final vowel i in kudi, uri, and nali is changed to u for securing harmonic sequence with the u of the final syllable chu. causal verbs and verbs of Sanskrit derivation as ne yinchu, pathinchu etc., the causative suffix i is an indispensable sign and cannot be altered; therefore a conjunct consonant neh has to be interposed between it and the final a so as to suspend the operation of the law of harmonic sequence. It would seem that in former times this conjunct could be formed either by doubling of the ch or by nasalising it; for both ettichchu and ettinchu occur in Yuddhamalla's inscription of the 9th century. The forms tinipichinādu and tappichakoni occur in a specimen of the Däsarī dialect. (L.S. Vol. IV, page 601.)

This uniformity has enabled Telugu to reject all conjunctive participles except those ending in i. It has four differently formed past tenses, two present tenses, three tenses which may be utilised to express the future and finally an aorist tense. Notwithstanding this richness of forms the language is easier to learn than Tamil or Kanarese and its grammar is shorter as exceptions to general grammatical rules are fewer in Telugu than in the other languages.

136. THE PRESENT TENSE (a) SUFFIX-chun or tun.

The tense formed with these suffixes is a compound tense obtained by combining the verb substantive with the present participle; it is the recognised grammatical present tense. The present participles take the forms:—koţţuchun, kuļţutun; naḍachuchun, naḍachutun, naḍastun; vinutun, vintun; konutun, konţun; chēyuchun, chēstun.

In colloquial speech the drutam or the final n of the present participle is dropped, and the preceding vowel sometimes also lengthened.

> koffutu, naduchutu, chēstu, konfü, vintū, konuchū, konchū, vinuchu.

The tense forms with pronominal endings are:koţţuchunnānu, nadushutunnānu, nadastunnānu,
chēyuchunnani, konţunnānu, vinuchunnāmu.

(b) Suffix tā or ekā-. The participle formed with this suffix has no independent existence in the grammatical language; the forms koṭṭutā, naḍuxtā, koṭṭuchā etc., occur only as colloquialisms and provincialisms. From these a simple tense is formed by adding personal endings:—

> koffutānu, naduchutānu, chēstānu, vastādu, kottuchānu, konchānu.

These forms have a future signification and are in colloquial use; the forms in cha are said to be used mainly by the religious Brahmans of the northern districts.

137. THE PAST TENSE

(a) Suffix i.—The past verbal participles of all bases are formed only with this suffix :—

kotti, nadicki, chë si, chë si, vini, idi.

The only tense form now extant derived from this participle is the third person epicene plural :—

Kottiri, nadichiri, chësiri, viniri, idiri.

These forms supply the defects in the other past tense forms mentioned below.

Note—It will be seen from 147 that in Bēradī, one of the Telugu dialects, the third person masculine form of the past tense is also based on this verbal participle, Example:

Cheppidi 'he said', pôkaydi 'he did not go'

The change of ru to ri and of du to di is due to harmonic sequence,

(b) Suffix yā—The tense formed with this suffix occurs only in colloquial usage, and does not possess forms for the third person feminine and neuter. It is usually supposed to be a corrupt form of the tense formed with the suffix ims below. Thus koffinānu, ādinānu, chēśinānu, kōśinānu, nadichinādu, bilichinānu are supposed* to have become corrupted in popular speech into koffinānu, ādinānu, chēśinānu, kōśinānu, nadichinanu, pilichinānu. The y is however not pronounced or written after ch and y and the past forms of the bases ending in chu and yu are written nadichānu, chēśānu, kōśānu, pilichānu, the ā being pronounced like the ā in the English word 'bade'. The same pronunciation of ā is heard in the past forms paddānu, chedāāmu, iddādu of padu, chedu, idu.

^{*}Seshagiri Sastri's Telugu Philology, Verbs, pages 35-37.

It must also be noted here that the usual explanation given of the third person plural forms koffiri, chēśiri, kōśiri etc. is that they are further corruptions of the corrupt forms kofyāru, chēśaru, kōśaru etc.

The view taken in this book is that the past tense forms with the tense suffix yā are much older in Tamil and Telugu than the past tense forms in ina. There are now no participles formed with the suffix yā either in Tamil or Telugu, but they appear to exist in some Telugu dialects as will be seen from the forms given in Section 8 below. As in the neo-Aryan vernaculars of the north the yā suffix has become corrupted into i which is now the regular conjunctive participle suffix in Telugu.

(c) Suffix enu=(yāna)—The participle formed with this suffix is used as a finite verb without personal endings in the third person singular and neuter plural:—koftenu, nadichenu, chēšenu, könenu, padenu. The final nu of these forms is often omitted in colloquial speech, and the forms are pronounced kofte, kottya, vachche, vachchya, koneya* is very common in the Telugu dialects where sometimes they are also used as conjunctive participles.

In the case of the 13 roots mentioned below the suffix enu may optionally be changed into iyenu. Thus instead of konenu, padenu, nagenu etc. we may also say koniyenu, padiyenu, nagiyenu etc. Koniye, padiye, nagiwe etc.

anu	'say'	nagu	'laugh, smile'
konu	'buy, take'	legu	'break'
tinu	'cat'	tagu	'suit, fit'
chanu	'go'	digu	'descend'
kanu	'see, bring forth'	padu	'fall'

^{*} The alternative pronunciation koff ya, vachchya, konya.

winu 'hear' chedu 'be corrupted' idu 'place, put'

Note.—The alternative forms assumed by the conjunctive participles and the suffix enugive rise to a surmise that the suffixes i and enu are probably corrupt contracted forms and that they perhaps contained an y formerly.

 (d) Suffix ina—The tense forms are:—keţţinānu, padinānu, chēţināvu, köţināru, nadachinādu, nadachinādi, chēţinavi.

This is the only tense form of the past which is not defective; there is no corresponding verbal participle now in use. The past relative participles of all Telegu roots are formed with the suffix ina:

kottina, padina, chēśina, kōśina, nadachina,

The thirteen roots mentioned in (c) above have alternative forms for their relative participles :--

konna, tima, padda, chedda, tagga etc. with the exception of chanu and the four ending in gu they have also alternative past tense forms corresponding to these participles: kannānu, paddadu.

Note—The view taken in this book is that the suffixes emi and inc are derived from the Ardhamagadhi suffix yana which found its way into Telugu rather late.

(e) Suffix ti or iti. The tense formed with this suffix is the recognised grammatical tense of the past, but it is wanting in the forms for the third person. There is no corresponding verbal participle now in use.

Example-kottitini, națiehitimi, națistivi, che stiri.

The ni of the first person singular is often omitted; the change of the personal endings nu, mu, vu, ru into ni, mi, vi, ri is for the purpose of securing harmonic sequence of vowels.

138. THE PUTURE TENSE

(a) Suffix ē—This suffix is in widely extended use among the common people in the Telugu districts and in the Telugu dialects; it expresses the contingent future :—

padēva 'you might fall', padēva 'they might fall', kattēnu, ādēva etc. The third person sirgular and neuter plural forms are exceptional.

kotteni, kottini, che seni, che sini.

(b) Suffix eda—This is the suffix of the grammatical future.

Kottedanu, chë fedamu, natlachedavu, ko fedaru.

The nu of the first person is often omitted.

The third person singular and neuter plural forms are exceptional:—

kot tedini, nadachegini, che sedunu, ko sedunu,

(i) Suffix kala—Another grammatical feature is formed by combining kalanu, kalanu, kalanu, kalanu, kaladu, kaladu, kaladu, kalani with the infinitive; it implies ability or obligation:—

Cheyagalanu, poyargaladu, chaduwagalavā? With this may be compared the forms kalavāndu, kalāndu of the inscriptions:—

manëndu neyyi poyangalavandu '(he) is bound tosupply a mana of ghee'?

139. THE AORIST TENSE SUFFIX du

This suffix is used only in the first and the second person; the form for the second person plural is also used for the epicene plural of the third person. For the third person singular and neuter plural the bare stem with the suffix me is used.

Singular

Ist nadachudunu, nadatunu 2nd chë yuduvu, chë tuvu M. chë yunu, chë sunu 3rd F. cheyunu, chë sunu N. chë yunu, chë sunu

Plural

nadachudumu, nadatumu chë yuduru, chë turu chë yuduru, chë turu chë yunu, chë turu

140. IMPERATIVES AND BENEDICTIVES

The Imperative First person—This occurs only in the plural and includes the speaker and the person addressed.

(1) kottudamu

kottudamu

(2) chê yudamu chê tamu chēyudāmu chetāmu

(3) naduchudamu nadutama naguchudāmu nadutāmu

Note—In the case of roots ending in the and ju the chudu and judu of the aorist, and thudu, juda and the thuda and judd of the imperative are optionally replaced by tu, ta and to respectively. In causal verbs we have three alternative forms:—

kottinehudunu divinehudamu divinehudamu kof fintunu divintamu divintāmu koffimpudunu divimpudamu divimpudamu

The Imperative Second person:

(a) singular (1) the bare root, (2) suffix mu.Example—koffu, koffumu, chēyu, chēyumu.

(b) Plural suffixes andu, undu, udu.

Example-kottandi, cheyandi, cheyunda, köyudi,

Nore—The forms Koffandu, chi yandu, are likely to be mistaken for the third person masculine singular of the negative verb; the affixes i, i, i usually added to the imperative plural distinguish these from the negative, but we may have koffundu, chēyudu.

- (c) In the case of roots ending in chu the following peculiarities must be noticed. (Gampbell's Telugu Grammar rules 359, 361, 362.)
- one class of roots including niluchu 'stand', lēchu
 'rise', piluchu 'call', naguchu 'walk', replace chu by vu
 before the imperative terminations.

Example-niluvumu, niluvand1, piluvudu, levand1.

(2) A second class including aduchu 'sweep', tuduchu 'cleanse by rubbing', môchu 'bear a burden', valachu 'love' optionally replace chu by vu:—

Example-üdehumu, üdvumu, mochandi, tuduvundu.

(3) A third class including rāchu 'rob', kāchu 'attend', tāchu 'weigh', enchu 'think' retain the chu always and have no optional forms.

Example-rachamu, kachandi, tuchundu.

(4) The fourth and the last class including causals optionally replace—chi by pu.

Example -divinchumu, divimpumu, divinchandi.

The Imperative Third person.—Suffixes edun, tan. This is really a benedictive form and is used in blessing, cursing etc.

niku mēlu kaligedunu
mūku mēlu kalugutanu

'May you have prosperity'.

When followed by a word with an initial vowel the final a of equa and tan is changed into m. (C.B. verbs 26 and 28.)

Example—miku melu kaligedumaniye, miku melu kalugutamaniye,

141. Some miscellaneous forms

(a) Bālavyākaraṇamu (C.B. verbs 27) mentions an imperative form obtained by adding the demonstrative pronoun adi to the third person singular of the aorist:—chē yunadi, 'you should do, he should do, it should be done', undunadi, prochunadi etc.

This form corresponds to the third person neuter singular of the tense formed with the sign p or v in Tamil and Kanarese. Tamil kodupadu, Kanarese kuduwadu 'should be given'. (98 C 124 a.)

(b) 'The forms pon 'let it go', rant 'let it come', undani 'let it be, let it alone' may be mentioned here. These imply permission or assent on the part of the speaker though supposed to be formed by the addition of the verb I 'give, allow' to the infinitive as thus:—

rdni=ran+i 'allow to come', i being here supposed to be another form of the imperative immu. But a comparison with the corresponding forms in Tamil and Kanarese does not support this derivation.

(i) The form kāka used as an auxiliary in benedictives is the only remnant of the old benedictives in ka; it is the optative form of agu 'be', 'become' and is equivalent to the Tamil ākuka 'may it become'.

Example-undedugāka, avugāka, 'may it become'.

142. MISCELLANEOUS VERBAL FORMS

(a) Verbal nouns: Suffixes (1) adamu (2) fa

Example—kottadamu, chēyadamu, kottuta, chēyuta, chēsuta, pôyadamu, pôyuta, pôsutā.

Note—Bases ending in uu change the uu into uu when taking the suffix fa.

(b) Infinitives.—Suffixes are (1) the fourth case of verbal nouns (2) as or a.

Example-chë yad aniki, posutaku, chë yan, chë ya, poya.

The forms in an and a are used in the senses of (1) for the purpose of (2) so as to, so that, (3) when, while. The fourth case of the verbal noun is used only in the first of these senses. In the last of the senses the forms in -an and a are often strengthened by kan as undagan, cheyngan.

- (c) Before the infinitive suffixes an and a and the verbal noun suffix -adams the final syllable of roots ending in chis is replaced by su or pu in the same manner and to the same extent as before the endings of the imperative second person.
 - (1) niluva, nadavadamu, piluvan, levadamu.
 - (2) Udchan, Udvan, tuduchandamu, tuduvadamu.
 - (3) rāchan, rāchadamu, kāchan, kochadamu.
 - (4) divinchan, divimpan, divinchadamu, divimpadamu.
- (d) Subjunctives suffixes (1) ēni, (2) an or ā and (3) ē (tē). The first of these is used with finite verbs, the others with verbal participles.
 - (1) kottinaneni 'If I beat' Chesinaneni, chestineni
- (2) kottina 'If I, we, you, he, she etc., beat' kottina, chësina, chësina.
- (3) koffite 'If I, we, you, he, she, etc. beat' chêşite, chêşite.

The last of these appears to be a drutaprakritika as it appears with the final n in some of the dialects. Also compare the combination cheste+emi=chestenemi 'what if it is done?'

- (e) Relative participles:
- (1) Present—chē yuchunna, chēstunna, dieinchuchunna, divimpuchunna, divinchutunna, dieistunna.

(2) Past-Chesina, kottina, nadichina.

 Indefinite—koţţu, chēyu, chēseţu, chēsē, chēfeţi, chēsēti.

The indefinite forms koffu, shipu are drutaprakritika and should be regarded as the third person singular acrist used like the Tamil tense form forum in the sense of a relative participle. They give rise to agent nouns, the druta making its appearance when the following pronoun has an initial vowel.

Example-Koffmāru, chē yurāru, chē yunatadu.

(f) Verbal participles:

(1) Present-chē yuchun, chēstun, chestū.

(2) Past-koffi, chēśi, nagichi.

143. CAUSAL BASES

(a) With a few exceptions roots ending in the form their causal bases by changing the into pinches—pilethe 'call' pilipinche, marache 'forget', marapinche, terache 'open', terapinche, nadache 'walk', nadapinche.

Exceptions—lēchu 'rise', lēpu. vachchu 'come', rappinchu. niluchu 'stand', nilupu. echchu 'increase', echchinchu. mūchu 'bear', mūpu. chachchu 'die', champu. chūchu 'see', chūpu or chūpinchu.

(b) Roots not ending in chu generally form their causal bases by changing the final u into inchu.

koffu 'strike', koffinchu, chēyu 'do', chēyinchu, anfu 'touch', anfinchu, pangu 'ripen', panginchu, kōyu 'cut', kōyinchu,

There are about sixty exceptions to this rule of which some are mentioned below:-

Kāgu 'boil', kāchu. (2) dāgu 'concent oneself',
 dāchu. (3) tūgu 'weigh', tūchu. (4) ūgu 'be rocked',
 ūchu. (5) kungu 'sink', kunchu. (6) vangu 'bend', vanchu.

(7) maragu 'be habituated', marapu. (8) medugu 'be injured', medupu. (9) malugu 'be extinguished', malupu. (10) tunugu 'be broken', tumpu, tunchu. (11) kālu 'burn' kāluchu. (12) kālu 'fall down', kāluchu.

144. MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS

The y of the roots ending in yu like chēyu, kōyu etc. becomes sibilant when moved by the initial vowels of the suffixes of the past and the future tenses: i, enu, ina, iti, ē, eda, edunu, edini, ēni, ini; but not when moved by the initial vowels of the infinitive suffixes an, a or of the verbal noun suffix adamu or of the causative suffix inchu; this y also optionally becomes sibilant before the verbal noun suffix ta, y and ch become sibilant when by the loss of the final u of roots they come in intimate contact with the t of the suffixes tun, tā, ti. The intimate contact of this t with the n of the roots anu 'say', konu 'huy', tinu 'eat', vinu 'hear' etc. renders both of them cerebral.

The alternative forms in the imperative first person and the aorist first and second persons in which the final chu and yu of the roots are rejected and the d of the suffixes is replaced by t indicate a stage when there was no chu or yu added to the roots and the tense sign was t as in the old Tamil t aorist; the d of Telugu in the forms under consideration is thus merely due to the intervocal pronunciation of an original t. It is remarkable that the third person aorist forms in t should be wanting both in Tamil and in Telugu.

The alternative causal agrist forms kottintunu, kottimpudumu and kottinchudunu appear to indicate that the causal base was originally only kotti (as now in Malayalam) then kottimpu and lastly kottinchu.

The hard and medial pronunciation of t in nadutum, nadutum and kelfudum respectively appears to indicate that

nada or nadu was originally an accented root in Telugu as it is now in Tamil; this surmise will hold good with reference to all roots now ending in chu or yu.

The infinitive forms nilman (intransitive) and nilupan (causal) would seem to indicate that the present Tamil practice of accenting some verbs when transitive and pronouncing them without any stress when intransitive was probably in vogue in Telugu also formerly.

These alternative forms and other relics which are preserved in Telugu are of great help to the philologist in tracing the development of Telugu roots and of Dravidian forms generally.

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CHAPTER VIII

TELUGU DIALECTS

145. Kompau

This is the speech of the shop-keepers of Chanda and does not differ much from the standard Telugu as spoken by the people in this Presidency. (L.S. Vol. IV, pp. 594-5.)

Indefinite tense: antādu 'he says', charta 'I die'. Conjunctive participles end in i.

Kāmāthi—This is a dialect of Telugu spoken by the Kāmāthi or bricklayers of Bombay and its neighbourhood. The language has been much influenced by the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech but is still a pure Dravidian dialect. (p. 596.)

Indefinite tense: antādu 'he says', sastā 'I am dying', pōtā 'I will go', chēstāmu 'we will make'.

Future : anëmi 'shall say'.

Conjunctive participles end in i.

The past third person singular ending in enu in the standard Telugu always ends in yā in this dialect: Ayā 'it became', pōyā 'he went', und ya 'he stayed', chapyā 'he said', sūšy 'he saw'.

146. DASARI

Dāsaris are wandering beggars in Belgaum. Some of them speak Kanarese, others Telugu. (pp. 599-601).

Indefinite tense: tastā 'I die'. Conjunctive participles end in i. The past third person singular ending in ene in the standard Telugu always ends in e in this dialect :—ane 'he said', dye 'it hecame', cheppe 'he said',

The oblique forms of the indefinite relative participles are peculiar: tine fa 'eating', undefa 'being'.

Verbal nouns are formed from the participles in equ:—

pāda-eddi 'singing', chāli-battaddi 'dancing', epaddi 'obtaining
or becoming'. Note also mēpadānki 'to feed', anipichakenadadānki 'to be called'.

The suffix of causal verbs has the form ichu or ichchu, not inchu:—timpichināgu 'he has made feast', ampichakona-dam 'causing to be called', tappichkoni 'having been lost'.

147. BERADI

The Bérads are an aboriginal tribe of Belgaum scattered all over the district who speak a dialect of Telugu in which Kanarese forms are occasionally used. (pages 602-6.)

Indefinite tense: pōtānu 'I am going', astān 'I will come', astāji 'it will come', sastān 'am dying', Conjunctive participles are formed with i.

The past third person Masculine often ends in idi:feppidi 'he said', fikkidi 'he was found', uddi (udidi) 'he
was', pokanidi 'he did not go',

The following past forms containing the suffix to occur without personal endings: adigiti 'he asked', mirk ugati (agiti) 'I did not disobey', isak-agati (agiti?) 'you did not give', acti 'I came'.

Verbal muns: Oswid 'coming', kerand 'doing'.

The subjunctives often end in ten: agiten 'but', Indiculten
'if (it) was not', pôten 'if (we) go'.

148. VADARI

This is the speech of a wandering tribe of quarrymen in the Bombay Presidency, the Berars and other districts, (pages 607-18.)

Indefinite tense: sastānu 'I am dying', pētānu 'I will go', cheputānu 'I will say'. The following forms are puzzling: kudirāmu (615) 'we are enjoying', kudisyavu 'thou enjoyest' (615), sachchyāna (611) 'I am dying'; they may be regarded as corruptions of forms containing the cha suffix, that is of the forms kuduchuchāmu, kuduchuchāvu, chachchuchanu.

Future pōyūru (pōyēru) 'They will go' (613), padēne 'they might fall' (614), pōyēnu 'I will go', cheppēnu 'I will say'. (618.)

Conjunctive participles end in i except in two cases where they are shown as ending in ya; but in these two instances the forms may also be construed as final verbs in the third person singular. Conjunctive participles and past tense forms are often strengthened by an auxiliary of the form kin, kon even if the verb is not used reflexively.

Conjunctive participles: phalisi-kinya (pilchikoni) (615)

'having called', nābisi-kinya (615) 'having taken off',
ninchikōni (609) 'having filled', tiskōni (611) tiskēni (617)

'taking', ankōni (611) 'having said', nadas-kōni 'having
behaved', kuḍakēm 'joining' (617), yegarkoţi-koni (618)

'spent having made', poikyāsi 'having gone' (617).

The past tense forms in the third person singular may be noted. Sarpu-kinya 'he spent', kud yar-kinya 'he collected', karehis-kinya (609) 'he spent', anya 'she said' (615), pādlē pya 'he wasted' (611) und ya 'she was', unde 'there were' (613), dōše 'is appeared' (613), ane 'he said' (613), sikke 'he was found'.

Verbal nouns adēdi 'dancing', udēdi 'music' (610).

CHAPTER IX PRO-DRAVIDIAN AORISTS

Language for the second second

149. THE PRO-DRAVIDIAN AORIST

In Chapter VII are brought together all the Dravidian suffixes which it is proposed to deal with in this book. Some of them are special to individual languages and must have been adopted by these during their individual development after separation from the common parent tongue, while other suffixes common to two or more languages must have been in use from the pro-Dravidian and pro-ethnic periods. It is necessary to classify the suffixes according to the periods in which they first came into use. The verbal bases themselves have undergone great changes, most of them being now longer by one syllable ku, tu, pu, rhu, or su, than in the proethnic period. As an examination of the changes which the bases have undergone throws considerable light on the nature and age of the suffixes we shall deal with these changes first. In groups of languages other than the Dravidian such formative additions which result in the mere lengthening of the roots arise from tense or modal suffixes-the special significations of which had become lost in course of time. It is assumed that the five formative syllables mentioned above owe their origin to similar causes and have arisen from tense and modal suffixes of the pro-ethnic and pro-Dravidian period, and we proceed to consider to what extent it can be explained on the basis of philology.

There was undoubtedly a k- conjugation in the pro-Dravidian period which was one of the earliest grammatical forms of that period and of which the following remnants have come down to us.

Language	Grammatical suffixes	Person and number in which used	Tenses indi- cated by suffices
Old Tamil (108)	kum (um)	3rd person sin- gular and neuter plural	present future and habitual present
do.	ku (singular) kum (plural)	1st person	Future and present
Modern Tamil (98-b)	kum (um)	3rd person sin- gular and neuter plural	Future and habitual present
Modern Maiayalam (117-a)	kum (um)	All persons and numbers	Future
Literary Malayalam (117-b)	ku (u)	All persons and numbers	Future
10000	kum (gum) ku, gu	3rd person all numbers	All tenses

Telugu (136). Kottunu, rhōyumu, etc. of the aorist third person is of the same form as the Tamil śeyyum and if it is open to us to say that a ku has been elided in the Telugu forms as has probably been the case with the Tamil śeyyum (98 a) then Telugu will be brought into line with the other languages.

We have to reconstruct the pro-Dravidian k- conjugation from the above remnants. The theory put forth in this book is that this k conjugation merely consisted in adding ku, that is, k with the enunciative u, to all roots and using the combination in all persons, numbers and genders without any personal endings and probably in all tenses except perhaps the definite past. The mollum is the sign of another conjugation (which came to be superadded to ku, except in the case of the first person forms in Old Tamil where m is the sign of the plural number.

The initial k of the suffix was doubled after accented roots and pronounced intervocally as k or g after unaccented words. In Kanarese k was retained only in certain harsh combinations (123 b) like ik, lk, lk, etc., and after the causative and the Sanskritic i, and became g in all other cases. As stated in 98 b, the um of Tamil arises from the clision of k in kum after unaccented roots; a similar explanation probably holds good for the u of literary Malayalam. The $k\mathfrak{A}$ and \mathfrak{A} of literary Malayalam may be supposed to arise from the clision of the final m and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding u in kum and um.

150. ROOT-EXTENSION IN TAMIL AND MALAYALAM

Examples have been given in 95 c of verbal bases in modern Tamil which are transitive or intransitive according as they are accented or unaccented. The number of such bases appears to have been much more numerous in the pro-Dravidian period and the k conjugation must have given rise to two tense forms-transitive (or causal) and intransitivecorresponding to each base. Thus corresponding to the base kuru which now means 'short (adj.)', there were two forms kurukku and kuruku which were probably first used as agrist tenses without personal terminations; when such terminations subsequently came to be added and other conjugational signs came to be super-added and the original forms ending in ku ceased to be looked upon as finite verbs. They are now treated merely as extended uninflected verbal bases, and in the case of many of them the original roots have now no separate existence in the language,

Intransitive	Transitive or causal	Original root
kuguku 'become short'	kurukku 'shorten'	kuru 'short' (adj.)
peruku 'swell as a flood'	prnukku 'cause to swell'	peru (a) large (adj.) (b) become large
palaku 'become fami- liar'	palakku 'train, accustom'	pala 'old' (adj.)
by heat' umku 'become liquid' iruku 'become tight' vilaku 'step aside'	karukku 'blacken 'by heat' urukku 'liquefy' igukku 'tighten' vilakku 'put aside'	karu (1) black(adj.) (2) become black

In the vast majority of cases, however, the k of ku has become softened to g and also nasalised in the intransitive form.

vanangu 'be bent, bow'	vanakku cause to	vanai, valai 'bend'
or round Indian Thea.	bend'	(v.t., v.i.)
inangu 'agree, suit'	inakku 'cause to	ipai (v.t., v.i.)
The many or or or in	agree or to suit	'suit'
unangu 'be dried'	unakku 'cause to	ushna 'heat'
THE PARTY NAMED IN	dry'	(subs)
adantgu 'be enclosed	adakku 'enclose,	aşai (v.i.) go in
or subdued'	subdue	(v.t.) put in
odungu 'step aside'	odukku 'put aside'	ottu 'go aside'
pulungu 'be bolled or l	pulukku 'boll or	prish (Sanskrit)
The second of th	heat	burn, consume
tulangu bright'	tulakku } 'burnish'	
amungu 'be immersed'	COST CONTRACTOR	And in case of parties.
(in a fluid)	amukku 'immerse'	
irangu 'come down'	igakku 'let down'	
Tanga come down	Manage 161 GOMT.	

kulungu 'shake'

kulukku 'cause to

shake'

śuruńgu 'shrink'

Surukku 'shorten'

There are many instances in which only one member of the couplet, either the transitive or the intransitive, exists in Tamil:—

tiruku (v.t.) 'twist'

pudukku (v.t.) 'renovate'

oluku (v.i.) I. 'leak'

meluku (v.t.) 'daub a place with dung mud,

2. 'behave'

chunam etc.'

vilungu (v.t.) 'swallow'

It is hardly necessary to add that in the case of every verb, transitive or intransitive, ending in -gu, or -ku a causal base can be formed by the addition of the suffix -vi.

It is unnecessary to give separate examples for Malayalam as almost all the couplets given above exist also in that language though with occasional shades of difference in meaning.

151. ROOT-EXTENSION IN KANABESE.

In Kanarese also we find a large number of roots lengthened by a ku or gu suffix, but the system of accenting roots have been early discontinued in that language we find fewer couplets than in Tamil and even in those few the distinction noticed in Tamil that the suffix ku (k hard) generally occurs in causal or transitive bases and the suffix gu in the noncausal or intransitive bases is but rarely observable.

Adagu, adangu (v.i.) 'be compressed' and

adaka (v.t.) 'press into a narrow compass'

furnish a rare instance of a couplet in which the Tamil distinction is preserved. In the following instances both members are used indifferently either as transitives or intransitives or both:—

mulugu } (v.i.) 'sink under water'

tagu } (v.i.) 'joint'; (v.t.) 'come in contact with'

todagu } (v.t.) 'commence, undertake'; todagu is alsotodaku } used intransitively.

minugu } (v.i.) 'shine, glitter'

In the vast majority of cases the bases do not occur in couplets, and we find only one member either with a gue or a ku suffix:

belagu (v.i.) 'shine'; (v.t.) 'cause to shins'
sügu (v.i.) 'be suspended' 'rock, swing'
kargu, kalgu (v.i.) 'turn back'
karagu, kargu, karangu (v.i.) 'melt, dissolve'
(v.t.) 'melt'

tolagu (v.i.) 'go away', 'fail', 'disappear' tolagu (v.i.) 'shine', 'be full of splendour' nadugu (v.i.) 'tremble'

nagugu (v.r.) 'tremble'

nalugu } (v.i.) 'be crumpled', 'grown weak', 'droep'

madangu (v.t.) 'lay down', 'put', 'hide'

managu alagu } (v.i.) 'bend', 'be submissive'

malagu alangu (v.i., 'lie down', 'recline'

mirugu } (v.i.) 'shine', 'glitter' misugu

kalaku } (v.t.) 'stir', 'perturb'; kalaku is also used kalanku } intransitively.

kedaku (v.t.) 'stir', 'dig up' kenaku (v.t.) 'stir', 'provoke' kuluku (v.t.) 'shake', 'agitate' miluku miliku miliku milaku milaku

There was a rule in Old Kanarese (K.K.G. 183-7) that bases ending in gu could form their present future relative participle either in the usual way by adding on to the base, or by eliding the final gu and then adding pu; as remarked in 127 a. above this optional form must have arisen in a stage of the language when the bases in question had not been extended by the suffix gu. The grammar does not mention similar optional forms in the case of bases ending in ku; but it cannot be inferred from this omission that these bases were later formations. For kalaku and kuluku, for instance, in the above list occur also in Tamil and probably go back to the pro-Dravidian period.

152, ROOT-EXTENSION IN TELUGU

(a) Telugu also contains a good number of verbal bases ending in gu and ku, but these bases do not generally occur in couplets and in the few that so occur both members appear to be intransitives.

Examples-

visuku } (v.i.) 'be tired or disgusted, be sick of'

In several cases the bases that look like couplets are really unconnected with each other and are etymologically different.

Examples-

adugu } (v.t.) 'ask, question, beg, demand' (v.t.) 'pile up, arrange in a set or series'

Fgu } (v.i.) 'go, repair, proceed, resort'
Fku } (v.t.) 'pick or clean cotton; defame, expose,

chinugu } (v.i.) 'be torn or rent' chinuku } (v.i.) 'fall into drops'

udugu \ (v.t.) 'give up, leave, desist from'

uduku I (v.i.) 'boil, simmer; be annoyed, or vexed'

 $d\delta ku$ $\{v.t.\}$ 'dig slightly so as to loosen the soil' $d\delta gu$ $\{v.i.\}$ 'go on all fours as an infant'

tologu } (v.i.) 'move, step aside, disappear'

todogu f (v.i.) begin, be commenced

tolaku, todatu (v.i.) 'be slightly shaken, be spilled'

sāgu (v.i.) 'go on, proceed; take effect, be effective'

sāgu (v.i.) 'extend, lengthen, prostrate one's self' sāku, sāku (v.t.) 'rear, bring up, foster, train up.'

(b) There is not perhaps a single couplet in Telugu resembling the Tamil ones instanced in 147 above where the bases ending in ku (k hard) are the transitive or the causal forms of the corresponding intransitive and non-causal forms ending in gu, or hu (k inter-vocal). Of the Telugu roots ending in gu a few form their causals by changing gu into pu, but the vast majority of them change gu into chu or add the suffix inchu. Bases

Causal and some other derived forms

adagu } (v.i.) be suppressed, (caus.) adehu, adaginehu, submit, anaehu anagu } (der.) adakuva, anakuva 'humility'

kalagu (v.i.) 'be confused (caus.) kalachu or disturbed' (der.) kalakusa, kalaka 'confusion'

madagu } (v.i.) 'be folded, (caus.) madehu, maduchu madagu } bend' (der.) madaka 'a fold'

penagu (v.i.) 'be twisted' (caus.) penachu (der.) penakuva 'a quarrel'

kāgu (v.i.) 'be heated, (caus.) kāchu grown hot' (der.) kāks 'heat, anger'

#gu (v.i.) 'be rocked, (caus.) #chu, uginchu, #hu swing' (der.) uka 'swinging'

tolagu (v.i.) 'vanish', (caus.) tolachu, tolaginchu step aside, disappear'

malagu (v.i.) 'turn back, (caus.) malachu, malapu be twisted (der.) malaka 'a bend

vēgu (v.i.) 'be fired, (caus.) vehu, vē yinchu sorrow' (der.) vē ki 'fever'

tunugu (v.i.) 'be cut to (caus.) timeha, tunucha, tumbu
pieces, (der.) tunuka 'a fragment'
be broken'

egugu (v.t.) 'know, under- (der.) egukava, eguka 'knowstand' ledge'

kadagu (v.i.) 'endeavour, (der.) kadanka, kadaka strive, attempt' 'endeavour' Bishop Caldwell's explanation of the suffixes chu and inchu (C.D.G. pp. 96 to 98, 347 to 354) is that they arise from the palatalization of ku and ikku. This explanation is entirely untenable; for there are many Telugu forms as in the table above in which the k of the original ku suffix has not been palatalised and it will be shown later that the predecessors of thu and inchu are not ku and ikku but pu and impu.

153. THE PLEONASTIC KU SUFFIX

It is well to note here that we have no evidence that kee or ga was ever used as a tense sign in Telugu whether with or without personal endings. There is evidence that they were so used in the third person in Old Kanarese without personal endings; we also know from specimens that have come down to us that ke was so used in the first person in Old Tamil and in all persons in literary Malayalam.

Kum and gum were used in Old Kanarese in the third person as tense signs without personal endings; and kum and um are now so used as tense signs in third person in Tamil and in all persons in Malayalam. Assuming the identity of the Telugu nu in the agrist forms che yunu, keffunu etc., with the m of the Tamil agrists seyum, namm, etc., it has been surmised that a ku or a gu has been elided in these Telugu forms. There is however, no necessity for making the surmise; for if nu arises from m the sign of a separate conjugation, it may itself express the tense of the Telugu forms without being tacked on to ku or gu. In this alternative view the Telugu forms che yunu, kelfunu etc., will not come under the k agrist, but under the p-conjugation to which m belongs.

There are several unaccented verbal bases in Tamil to which a ku is often pleonastically added. Thus we have seykuwên 'I shall do', pôkuwôm 'we shall go', varukustr 'you will come' etc. in addition to the usual forms ścyvên, pôwôm,

varuelr etc. In Malayalam we have the forms kodukhuodu the will give, nudakhuodu the will walk etc., side by side with koduppan, nadappan etc. In old Kanarese also in the special conjugation with kum, gum, ku, gu (K.K.G. 203) they used to add gu pleonastically to the base.

midikugum 'he will eause to make' ägugugum 'it becomes' nilgugum 'she will stand'

etc., side by side with madikum, agugum, nilgum etc.

In negative verbs, a kn suffix is often pleonastically added to the verbal base in Tamil and Malayalam: Kodukkan 'he will not give', nadakkan 'he will not walk' etc., side by side with kodan, nadavan etc. In modern Malayalam the use of the suffix is obligatory in the case of accented roots.

The above are relies of an old practice of adding kn to every root before proceeding to conjugate it.

The infinitives and subjunctives of all roots in Modern Malayajam contain a ku suffix:

nagakka, nadakkil, tarika, tarikil, Sryka, Sepkil.

In non-literary Tamil a doubled K invariably appears in the infinitives and subjunctives of accented roots; in the case of unaccented roots the use of k is unnecessary though often optionally allowed:

varin, Servin, unka, unna, unkin, unnil, Serkin.

The fuller forms of Malayalam may be taken as proof that a kn suffix which had lost its original signification continued to be added to every root in some inflections; the initial k of this suffix when it was not doubled was often elided in Tamil and in literary Malayalam.

It has been stated in 112 C, above that the infinitive suffix a has arisen from the loss of i in al, and the question arises whether infinitives and verbal nouns in Tamil and Malayalam were formed by the addition of kal in the pro-Dravidian period. This question must be answered in the affirmative. The verbal nouns in kal appear to have been replaced by formations in tal and are now exceedingly rare in Tamil in the case of roots which have not been permanently lengthened by a ku suffix. Two of such rare instances are,

kodukkal 'giving' and mökkal 'smelling'
kodukkal vängal 'lending and borrowing, money
transactions'

mökkalum möndanan (Kali. 54).

Per contra may be quoted cases in al where we should expect tal or kal:—

Kudiyal ennai 'oil fit for (human) consumption'.

154. THE PRO-DRAVIDIAN 'I' AORIST

There is no trace of a t aorist even in the oldest specimens of Kanarese that have come down to us; but it existed in Old Tamil and exists now in Telugu:

Language	Suffixes		Persons in	Mood or sense
	Singular	Plural	which used	indicated
Old Tamil (107)	tu ti, tai	tum tir	1st person 2nd person	aorist
	tunu tuvu	tumu	1st person	
2 7000		turu	2nd person 3rd person	aorist
N - The		tamu	epicene 1st person	Imperative
The state of		tamu	(includes the ressed).	

The t of the suffixes will be pronounced like d after unaccented roots in Tamil and after all roots in Telegu except where the and so of the roots are optionally omitted. The m of tum in Old Tamil is a plural sign; i, ai, and ir, in Old Tamil and nu, mu, ou, ou, on, and amu, in Telugu are personal endings, or their final syllables. It is remarkable that this agrist should be defective in the third person in both these languages.

The theory put forward in this book is that this conjugation must have originally consisted in merely adding tothat is t with the enunciative u-to all roots and using the combination in all numbers and genders. The initial t of the suffix was doubled or pronounced hard after accented roots and sounded inter-vocally after other roots ending in vowels; where the roots ended in consonants the t of the suffix underwent suitable modifications in combination with these consonants. The I agrist forms in Old Tamil were often indistinguishable from the past tense forms in t or d; and the confusion arising in confequence was no doubt the main reason why those forms have been discontinued in Tamil. If this agrist had ever existed in Kanarese it must have been discontinued in that language for this same reason. There is no such confusion in Telugu where the agrist forms are clearly distinguished from the past tense forms in ti; further, these past forms do not appear to have existed in the pro-Dravidian period and are probably of late origin.

§ 154 (a). THE PRO-DRAVIDIAN / CONJUGATION

From the analogy of the k and t acrists we should expect that in the pro-ethnic period the p conjugation merely consisted in affixing pu—that is, p with the enunciative u—to the root or base and using the form so obtained in all perions numbers and genders without personal endings. But even the oldest specimens that we have in Tamil and Kanarese combine personal endings with the p sign and we have no

evidence that p tense forms were ever in use without such cudings except in literary Matayalam. In the tense forms of these three languages p is doubled or pronounced hard after accented bases, becomes b, sometimes m, after manifestal bases, and is softened into v after other unaccented bases.

Tense forms with the p or the p sign do not occur at all in Telugu. They are supplemented in Tamil in the 3rd person by forms obtained by adding kam (am) to the base; these latter are the only forms in use in colloquial Malayalam. Old and mediated Kanarese possessed a special conjugation for the 3rd person in kam (gam) besides the p, v, b, forms applicable to all persons.

(b) ALTERNATIVE FORMS WITH THE PLEONASTIC kn Supplex.

Patting together the Tamil and Malayalam forms with the tense sign p given in §98, §109, and §117, it follows that formerly there was an alternative method of forming this tense in which a pleomastic ku was interposed between the suffix pu and the root. In all these alternative forms pu was necessarily weakened into ou as the final short u of the extensied bases was unaccented. Thus there must have been forms like kodukkum 'giving, will give', rakshikkum 'protecting, will protect', expkkum 'placing, will place'; pōkum 'going, will go', side by side with koduppu, rakshippu, vayppu, pōm; when personal endings were subsequently added, these alternative forms would have become kodukkum, rakshikkum and vaykkum, pōkum, rakshikkum and vaykkum, pōkum, rakshikkum, malayalam.

The final on of these alternative forms appears to have been a very unstable sound and it is apparently in consequence of this that m has been substituted for it in the popular dialect giving rise to the forms kodukkum, rakshikkum, vaykkum, pokum (vide §155, §156-a, below). This appears to be the origin of the suffix kum of Tamil, Malayalam and archaic Kanarese.

In Old Tamil three were in use verbal participles of the form seppu 'doing', formed by adding pu to unaccented bases—
in gapu 'hanging', rangupu 'taking', padupu 'falling', idupu 'placing'; the p of the suffixes having the value of the English f. Such participles are exceedingly common in Paripadal.

(c) THE MEANINGS OF THE p PORMS.

The illustrations given in § tor (e), § 127 (a, e_i) under Tamil and Kanarese suffixes make it abundantly clear that the original significance of the p sign was necessity or obligation which, as usual, has in most cases degenerated into mere futurity. In Old Tamil the p forms were also used with a present signification; in Kanarese relative participles with the p (v, b) sign are called by Dr. Kittel present-future participles and have an acrist sense.

\$155. OR BASES IN TAMIL, MALAYALAM, AND TELUOU.

In this and the two succeeding articles are brought together a number of Dravidian forms containing suffixes of which p, b, or n, forms the essential part, but it must not be supposed that they all contain the future suffix which originally connected (§ 101-b above), necessity, obligation, promise etc.; most of them do not.

There are in Tamil, Malayalam a number of pu causal bases, the non-causal forms of these end in mbu,

Nan-causal Gausal
elumbu 'eise' eluppu
tirombu 'turn' tiruppu

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kilappu
kūmbu 'rise'
kūmbu 'shut, close (as a flower)' kūppu
nirambu 'be filled'
nirappu
kulambu 'become turbid'
kulappu

Kanarese has some of these forms, but as in the case of the kw and ta suffixes, the tenues, and mediae have not separate functions assigned to them. Thus tiruppa, tirumbu and tirum, are all transitive verba; etha is in transitive while erha is transitive, and ebha is both.

Telugu makes a fair show under the head of pu causals, but the non-causal forms of these bases have suffixed belonging to other conjugations.

Non-causal	Gausal
tirugu 'turn'	trippu, tippu
nalugu 'be crushed'	nalupu
maragu 'he habituated'	marapu
malagu 'be extinguished'	maluju
medugu be beaten in a mortar	medutu
mē yu 'grazo'	n.ēļn
māyu 'he tarnished'	māts
těchu 'rise'	tēņu
chachchu 'die'	champu
mochu 'bear a burden'	т0 ри

There are besides bases like, chiduka 'burst'; sagu 'be stretched'; 'dangu' 'be heaten in a mortar'; chinugu 'be torn'; tunugu 'be broken'; tegu 'be cut'; digu 'descend'; tragu 'drink'; u dugu, 'leave'; zarugu 'slide, pasz', which have alternative causal bases besides chidufu, safu, dampu, chimpu, tumpu, tempu, dimpu, trapu, udupu, zarufu.

156. THE 'P' INFLECTIONS IN TELUCU

A large number of Telugu bases end in chu and this syllable enters into the conjugation of these bases in almost every mood and tense; as pointed out in 143 this was not so formerly, and in the earliest stages of the language these bases were without any thu suffix. This will also be evident from the circumstance that the corresponding roots in other Dravidian languages have no such suffix and are still one syllable shorter than the Telugu bases. Thus, marachu, 'forget', nadachu 'walk', kuduchu 'drink' are only mara, nada, kudi in Tamil. An examination of the special and optional forms which the Telugu che bases assume in the infinitive and imperative moods and in the negative voice clearly shows that the suffix on formerly played a much larger part than now in the inflection of Telugu verbs. For the purpose of this examination reference should be made to the four-fold division of the bases adopted from Campbell's grammar and given in 140 subra.

(a) The verbs included in the first of these four classes replace the by vu when inflected for the imperative second person, the infinitive, and the verbal noun, and in the negative forms. Campbell's grammar (rule 359) enumerates 15 verbs as belonging to this class and the number includes some of the commonest of Telugu roots in daily use such as lēthu 'rise', nilnehu 'stand', nadathu 'walk', marathu 'forget', piluehu 'call,' kuduchu 'suck, eat', karathu 'bite', ēduchu 'weep', viduchu 'quit' etc. Some of the inflections of the base lēthu are compared below with those of its causal form lēpu.

Imperative	Inf. and verbal	Negative
Assessment weeknoone	noun	
lēnumu, lēvaņdi	lēvan, lēvadamu	levaka, levani
të pumu, lë pandi	lepan, tepadamu,	lepaka, lepani

The comparison shows that there must have been a couplet $l \not\equiv vu$ and $l \not\equiv pu$ identical in meaning with the Tamil couplet $ellow{l} = vu$ and $ellow{l} = vu$ and identical also in form; for the Telugu $ellow{l} = vu$ is the same as Tamil $ellow{l} = vu$ in the non-causal form in Telugu, it becomes $ellow{l} = vu$ in the non-causal form in Telugu, it becomes $ellow{l} = vu$ in the non-causal form in Telugu, it becomes $ellow{l} = vu$ in Tamil. Similarly we have the couplets $ellow{l} = vu$ in $ellow{l} = vu$ in the three cases the hard pronunciation of $ellow{l} = vu$ in the causal form thereby showing that the radicals $ellow{l} = vu$ in the causal form thereby showing that the radicals $ellow{l} = vu$ in $ellow{l} = vu$ in the hard pronunciation of $ellow{l} = vu$ in Tamil only by doubling it.

In regard to the other roots belonging to this class the causal forms do not end in pu but in pinchu as marapinchu, kudipinchu, pilipinchu, and although the inflections of the non-causal bases follow those of lechu, as maravan, kudwan, piluwas etc., the inflections of the causal bases are longer and also have optional forms: marapimpan, marapinchan etc. But if it is assumed that this pinchu arises by adding inchu to a previous pu or that it has replaced a previous pu suffix then the conclusion is irresistible that all the bases belonging to the first class existed formerly in couplets having ou and pu as their final syllables. The recollection of non-causal bases ending in m is still so strong that the final chu is rejected absolutely in the inflections now under consideration.

(b) Campbell's grammar enumerates 18 roots (rule 363) as belonging to the second class which optionally replace chu by vu in the above inflections: most of these are common roots in daily use such as:

> mochu 'bear a burden'; naluchu 'squeeze or crush'; tuduchu 'cleanse by rubbing'; #duchu 'sweep'; Iduchu 'drag or pull'; vaichu 'place or put';

piluchu 'draw up anything with the breath';
prochu 'protect,'

Taking the base moths the inflections of the couplet may be exhibited as follows:—

> mochumu, mochandi; mochan, mochadamu; mochaka, mochani,

> mövumu, mövandi; mövan, mövadamu; mövaka, mövani. möþumu, möþandi, möþan, möþadamu- möþaka, möþani.

Here also we can reasonably infer that there were formerly couplets of the form move and move but that the tradition of the versuffix had been lost in some parts of the Telingu country when the che suffix became permanently incorporated with the root and that the grammarian has thus had to recognise a double usage. The only root of this class which forms its causal with the he suffix is mochu; in all other cases the causal is formed by replacing che by pinchu.

(c) The third class of roots which retain the final syllable chu in the inflections now under consideration are in less common and daily use than the two previous classes; Campbell's grammar (Rule 361) enumerates 26 roots as belonging to this class of which the following are more common perhaps than the rest;—

> kāchu 'attend'; rāchu 'rub' gruckchu 'string (pearls etc.); puchchu 'rot, send' tāchu 'weigh'; āchchu 'owe' nōchu 'perform a ceremony'; ēchu 'harass, torment'

It cannot be said that these are new bases which did not exist in the pro-Dravidian period, for most of them have corresponding roots in Tamil and all of them form their causals by adding pincha. If these bases had formerly noncausal forms with the suffix on all tradition of such forms has been entirely lost.

(d) The fourth class which optionally replace the final syllable by pu comprise all the remaining chu bases; they are mostly causals formed by adding inchu or chu to the root, as;

kottinchu, kövinchu, adaginchu, kaluchu, kaluchu.

These bases must have originally assumed the suffix pu when taking the inflections now under consideration but a double usage has grown up as in the second class of verbs considered in (b) above. The above optional replacement occurs also before the du of the aorist and chunu of the present tense.

The net result of the examination is that in a certain stage in the development of Telugu all bases now ending in the assumed the suffix vu or ρu before undergoing certain inflections and that such of them as assumed the suffix vumust have had causal forms ending in ρu .

157. MISCELLANEOUS 'P' FORMS

(a) Infinitives and subjunctives of accented roots in Tamil which were formed by adding ppa, and ppin to roots (112 e) come under the p conjugation. Thus nadappily, nadappa, nirpin, marappa etc., must have arisen by affixing a and in to the obsolete bases nadappu, nirpu, marappa etc., which apparently went out of use as being needlessly long; for we have still the roots nada 'walk' nil 'stand' and mara 'forget' conveying the same meaning. It is worthy of note that while Telugu has had and still has inflections arising from the couplets niluvu, nilupu; nadam, nadapu etc., corresponding to the unaccented and accented forms of the primitive roots in the non-causal and causal sense respectively. Tamil should have retained only the inflections of accented roots in a large number of cases and that in some of these cases

the sense conveyed should be intransitive and causal, as for instance, nada, para, nil, iru.

(b) A very large number of nouns are formed in Tamil and Malayalam by means of the suffixes pu and vu; some of these are action nouns while others have acquired special significations. Examples:

kadippu 'beating, a drum stick' ; tšrppu 'a settlement'

ðrpu 'patience' ; ulæu 'ploughing'

tőrpu 'defeat' ; vilippu 'waking'

iluppu 'dragging spasms' ; tsruppu 'disgust'

Malayalam sometimes uses also ma where Tamil uses only pu or vu; thus thepu, tirmma 'a sertlement'; ulant, ulama 'tillage'; ormma 'recollection, thought'; tolma 'defeat'. Nouns formed from verbs by the addition of pu or vu are also numerous in Telugu.

māpu 'dirt'; mōpu 'burden'; vāpu 'swelling'; penupu 'nourishing'; koluvu 'service'; tadavu 'delay'; niluvu 'what is left'.

(c) These nouns must be carefully distinguished from abstract nouns or nouns of quality formed mostly from nouns and adjectives by means of the suffixes pu, vu, mi, mai etc., which have a different origin unconnected with the p conjugation:

Tamil: karuppu; karumai 'blackness'; fivappu 'redness'; venmai 'whiteness'; arumai 'rarity'; pudumai 'newness'.

Telugu: telupu, 'whiteness'; nalupu 'blackness'; pērimai 'greatness'; magatimi 'manliness'.

(d) There is a peculiarity in the formation of verbal nouns in Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese by means of the suffix vu, which must be specially noted; it is that the vowel.

preceding ou should not be u. In Tamil we may form nouns from accented roots ending in u, iruppu 'abode'; uduppu 'dress'; aruppu 'harvest' etc. without changing the final # of the roots, but when ou becomes ou the suffix added is practically and when the roots end in a or a consonant. nouns from ulu 'plough', ugu 'be related', nadu 'transplant', puku 'enter'; miku 'exceed', varu 'come', šel 'go', kal 'steal', un 'cat' are ulavu, uravu, nadavu, pukavu, mikavu, varavu, Selanu, kalanu, unavu; but we may have kalivu 'passing', ilinu 'descending', kulivu 'depression', ilanu 'loss', iranu 'begging' without any change in the final vowels a or i of the roots. These remarks apply also to Malayalam. A similar state of things appears to prevail in Kanarese. Chapter X of Dr. Kittel's Grammar contains examples of verbal nouns ending in vu, but the penultimate vowel is never u. Where the root ends in u the suffix is either su, vi, or avu:-

iravu 'being'; olavu 'pleasure'; baravu 'coming'; ikkuva 'placing, putting'; hannusa 'making ready', 'equipping' (K.K.G. 243-(20-24).)

Several nouns ending in uvu have lost their final syllable in Modern Tamil. Thus the Telugu bigum 'tightness', koluvu 'service' are now commonly known as only bigu and kolu in popular Tamil; while urusu 'shape', karuvu 'embryo' etc., tadbhavas from the Sanskrit rupa, garbha etc., have become uru, karu etc.

On the other hand Telugu grammar has verbal nouns ending in now:

biguou 'tightness', eguvu 'flight', koluvu, 'service',
'assembly', niluvu, 'what is left'.

158. THE TENSE SIGNS IN AND HU

(a) The tense sign m is a substitute for v.

There are various considerations which show that the m of the suffixes kum (um), gum has arisen from a previous v.

(i) In Tamil the future sign appears as p, v or b according to connection, that is as the roots are accented or unaccented, or end in masals:—

nadappēs, paruvēs, kanbēs.

In Malayalam the second future sign appears as p, v or m in the same circumstances:—

kodupjni, šelvu, kanmu, koduppan, varuvan, kanman (1176.)

(ii) The same plan is followed in the imperative second person plural in Malayalam, and Bishop Caldwell was the first to point out that the various forms assumed by this imperative plural were based on the plan of the future. (C.D.G. pp. 421-2):—

koduppin, varuvin, kanmin where in is the second person plural termination.

Tamil uses are invariable—mig or migir as the plural imperative suffix for all classes of verbs:—

Kogumin, varamin, or vammin, kanmin, in the negative form, however either p or m may be used kananmin, pukanmin, kanar pir, pukappir for pukar pir. (99 a, b.)

There are other negative imperatives in Old Tamil where m takes the place of p. Thus in the verbs kanaymin 'may they not witness' and padayman 'may they not sing'. m according to a commentator or Tolkappiyam arises from the future sign p (109 c.)

(iii) The agent nouns formed in Malayalam and Old Tamil from the agrist relative participle ending in kum or um have identically the same sense as the agent nouns formed with the suffixes, p, v or b; thus unarumor, telisumor, kānumor, kānumor, vālumor, kaysumon have the same sense as unarvor, telisor, kānbor, vālvor, kosvon. (111 c.)

(iv) We may also note here the ordinals formed with the suffix ām in Tamil and Malayāļam and with ava in Telugu. Thus ārām in Tamil and Malayāļam and ārava in Telugu mean 'the sixth'; their lengthened forms meaning 'sixth thing' are ārāmadu in Malayāļam, ārāvadu in Tamil and ārāvadi in Telugu. The suffix ām is a shortened form of the future relative participle ākum 'becoming'.

In all these cases, p, v, and b give place to m. In the alternative prchaic p aorist obtained by interposing the pleonastic ku between the suffix pu and the root or base (vide 155 b above) the vu of the final uvu of nadakkuvu, $p\bar{v}kuvu$ etc. was likely to be lost; it looks as if the stable m took the place of this vu,

(b) The final nu of the Telugu sorist third person is a substitute for m.

The Telugu agrist cheyunu is identical in meaning and in application with the old Tamil feykum and feyyum, and all the three are also used as agrist relative participles without regard to the number or gender of the nouns qualified; and agent nouns are formed from all:—

Tamil: Seyvumavan, Seyyumavar.

Telugu: chê yunavadu, chê yuvadu, chê yuvaru.

There are several instances in which Telugu is known to have changed the final m of grammatical particles into n. The copulative conjunction um of Tamil, Malayalam and Old Kanarese appears as unu in Telugu, the benedictive suffixes tan and edun appear to have originally ended in m for when followed by a vowel these particles become tam and edun. Vide also 141 a, above where it has been pointed out

that Telugu chëyunadi, 'should be done' etc., have an impressive signification like the Tamil koduppadu, 'Kanarese kuduwadu' 'should be given'.

Having regard to the identity of use and meaning it may be reasonably inferred that there was an identity in form also originally and that the Telugu n in the aorist third person has arisen from a previous m which arose out of the pro-Dravidian gerundive and future sign p (v).

It may be mentioned here that Bishop Caldwell also thought that the Tamil um was identical with the Telugu arristic nu (C.D.G. pp. 406-9); but his explanation of um was entirely different from that given in this book viz, that u has arisen from pleonastic suffix ku and that m is a substitute for v which again was a softened p.

CHAPTER X

PRO-DRAVIDIAN PAST TENSE FORMS

159. Dravidian conjunctive participles have no passive force.

Attention was drawn in 48 above to Prof. Sten Konow's remark that 'In the Dravidian a participle is active as well as passive'. This statement requires qualification. There are certain elliptical phrases such as:—

Tamil: śeyda vēlai Kanarese: māḍida kelasa Telugu: chēśina pani

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which are usually translated as 'the work done'. This rendering may give rise to the supposition that the Dravidian past relative participles correspond to the Sanskrit past participle passive krita 'done', bhinna 'broken'; but if the elliptical subject is supplied it will be at once be apparent that the above participles are wholly active in sense.

Tamil: avan feyda vēlai Kanarese: avanu mādida kelasa Telugu: vādu chēfina pani

This will also be evident from the verb forms with personal endings. Thus Tamil: aditton, Kanarese: hōḍedanu; Telugu: Koffinādu, will mean only 'he struck', never 'he was struck'.

Bishop Galdwell fully recognises the active character of these participles (G.D.G. p. 400) and Dr. Kittel is careful enough to translate such phrases as kalta patha, bareda pustaka etc., by 'the lesson which (somebody) has learnt, SEC. [60] TAMIL-MALAYALAM CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

the book which (somebody) has written'. (K.K.G. pp. 328, 421.)

The same observations are applicable to present, future, and aorist relative participles such as Tamil: seykita, seyum; Kanarese: madura, Telugu: there etc., and to the elliptical phrases seykita velai, seyum velai, madura kelasa, chēse pani which are often rendered 'the work that is being done'. In these and in the other examples given above a misconception may arise from the circumstance that the neuter nouns which the participles qualify are the objects of the action; no misconception can possibly arise in the examples paditta pillai 'the boy that read', padikkira pillai 'the boy that is reading'.

It is necessary to emphasize here that the Dravidian conjunctive participles are wholly active in meaning; these participles were once used as finite verbs in the past tense in the active voice as they are even now in Malayalam and in some uncultivated Dravidian dialects (42). There are no instances in which these participles or the tense forms derived from them were ever used in the passive or impersonal construction with the subject of the verb in the agent or the oblique case.

160. TAMIL-MALAYALAM CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

(a) Tamil: The suffixes denoting past tense in Tamil and Old Tamil are tu, i, in and have been briefly dealt with in 97, 106. In all periods of the Tamil language known-to us conjunctive participles have been formed with the suffix i in the case of short u bases and with the suffix tu in the case of the other bases. In Old Tamil several bases not ending in short u used the suffix i; it is impossible to say whether this represented the popular usage of the time or was merely a poetical license. If the former the suffix i must have had a

wider range of application then. Though there is little doubt that these participles must once have been used as finite verbs we do not find instances of such use even in the oldest specimens of Tamil known to us.

In Old Tamil bases ending in short whad tense forms containing the suffix in side by side with forms containing the suffix i (iy);

erinan, oginan, kattinan, etc. side by side with ēgiyan, öğiyan, kattiyan etc.

But relative participles were always forms with the latter suffix; the forms of these participles were Friya, Odiya, kat fiya, etc. not êrina, ödina, kûffina etc. In modern Tamil relative participles and tense forms of short u bases are formed only with the suffix in.

- (b) Malayalam: Conjunctive participles are forms as in Tamil with the suffixes to and i; these participles are used also as tense forms. The suffix is is not in use in spoken Malayalam as a sign of the past tense, but instances occur in literary works of past tense forms containing this suffix. Relative participles have the same form as in Old Tamil eriya, Odiya.
- (c) Is y merely a ya sruti? The y in the forms eriya, kāttiya, ēriyan, kāttiyan etc., is usually considered to be a ya sruti an inorganic consonant put in to fill the hiatus between the final i of the conjunctive participles and the initial vowel of the suffixes, as thus \$ri(y) a. But several considerations may be urged which render it more likely that the final i of these participles is not original but has arisen from a previous ya. The Sanskrit words kanya 'an unmarried girl or woman', pandya 'the name of a people', vandhya 'a barren woman',

sandhyā 'evening, dusk' etc., have become kani, pāndi, vanti, andi in Tamil. Tolkappiyam (1-2-25) says that i can replace y and via versa at the end of words. The bases pō 'go' and ō 'become' have conjunctive participles pōy and ōy. Tamil does not tolerate y as the second member of a conjunct consonant but inserts a glide vowel i between; thus pānd ya must have been adopted as pāndiya in Tamil and must have become successively pāndiy and pāndi. Similarly, if ya was the original suffix of the conjunctive participles it would have become successively in, iy, i in consonantal bases āriya, āriy, āri and the y of the form now under consideration will not be merely euphonic and adventitious, as the personal endings might have come to be added to the participles at a time when these still retained y.

161. KANARESE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

The suffixes used in Kanarese are tu and i. Since the 6th or the 7th century A.D., when this language first comes within our ken there has been a progressive extension of the use of i in the formation of its conjunctive participles. In old Kanarese the use of iwas limited to sibilant bases and to such explosive basis as required a final u for proper enunciation; but a continued increase in the number of a bases has led to an extension, though not to an equal extent, of the use of the suffix i. Notwithstanding this change the relative participles and tense forms derived from every verb contain, and have always contained the dental sign t or d. This gives rise to the presumption that in the older stages of the languages when conjunctive participles were used as tense forms without personal endings these participles must have been formed in the case of all bases with the suffixes tu, du, or idu, and that the suffix i is a later innovation adopted perhaps partly in

^{1.} Ikara yakaram iyudi viravum (Tol.1. molimarapu. 25.)

imitation of contiguous languages, but mainly because the shorter form in i was more convenient. For, if forms in i were in use in those older stages we should have had, as in Old Tamil and in Malayalam, relative participles and tense forms without any dental sign in the case of the bases which then used the suffix i.

It might be argued per contrathat the tense forms were as supposed by Dr. Kittel (K.K.G. 189-192) derived from the past relative participles. Then the question arises how were the relative participles themselves derived? These participles have acquired their present meanings only as derived from verbal forms used in former times as tense forms without personal endings. Thus Tamil, Malayalam Sevilu and Kanarese geydu, both meaning 'having done' without regard to number or gender, have given rise to sepla and gerda which mean 'that has done' applicable to all numbers and genders. Similarly, Malayalam Seykumu and Tamil Sepkingu, both of which mean 'doing', have given rise to Seykunna and Seykinga meaning 'that does', and applicable to all numbers and genders; so also the Kanarese hypothetical germa 'does or will do', must have given rise to german'that does or that will do'. It has been pointed out in 72 (e) above, following the view of Dr. Gunderr, that the suffixed a of these relative participles is the subject of the action expressed by the participles. It has also been surmised that this suffixed a is short av which, like the English 'that' is both a demonstrative and a relative. The supposition that past relative participles in Kanarese are derived from the conjunctive participles ending in da is fully in accordance with the mode in which such relative participles are derived in Tamil-Malayalam, and with the way in which present future relative participles are derived in Kanarese. The presumption that all conjunctive participles in Kanarese must formerly have been formed with a dental suffix is almost irresistible.

162. TELUGU CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES AND PAST TENSE FORMS

(a) Suffixes i, chi, si. In Telugu all verbal bases from their conjunctive participles with the suffix i, but as all old vowel bases have been lengthened by one syllable chu or yu (su), the real addition in the case of these stems in chi or si. Thus dd 'play', adagu 'be submissive', adopted without change in Telugu form their participles with the suffix i; ddi, adagi; but nada 'walk', mara 'forget', tuni 'be out to pieces', pukai 'smoke', which have become lengthened by a syllable in Telugu form their participles by the addition of chi or si; nadachi, marachi, tunin, pegasi.

The only tense forms corresponding to these participles is the third person epicene plural:—

ādiri, chēsiri, nadachiri, adgiri; to this may be added the third person masculine singular forms cheppidi 'he said', uddu (udidi) 'he was', sikkidi 'he was found', oyidi 'he became' given in 144 above as current in the Beradi dialect.

- (b) Suffixes ya, chya, eya, Telugu grammarians do not, however, derive the above third person epicene plurals from the conjunctive participles \$\textit{adi}\$, nadachi, adagi, ches, but consider them as contactions of the colloquial and vulgar forms \$\textit{adayara}\$, nadichyārau, adagyāru, chēsyāru. These tense forms in ya correspond to the old Tamil forms referred to in 161 c., and here also the question arises whether the suffixes \$i\$, chi, if of the conjunctive participles are original or have arisen from ya, chya, sya.
- (c) Suffixes e, enu. The suffix enu gives rise to forms like könönu, pādēnu, chēsēnu, nadichēnu etc., used in the third person singular and neuter plural. These forms often drop their final nu and assume also the forms könyēnu, könyē, könya,

che sya, pad ya, padiyenu, padiye etc., in colloquial speech and in the Telugo dialects. Here also the question arises whether e is original or ya, and if the latter, what is the origin of the final nu in enu.

There are many instances in Telugu in which e has arisen from an original ya. Thus Sanskrit kanyā 'an unmarried girl or woman' has become kanniya and kanne in Telugu; Sanskrit dhishnya 'a seat' has become tinniya and tinne 'a pyal'; sandhyā 'morning and evening twilight' has become sande, and anyamu 'other' has become annēmu. Again consider the following Telugu couplets.

L	paggiya, pagge	'skill, cleverness'
2.	mulliya, mulle	'a hag or bundle of jewels or money, wealth'
3.	diviya, dive	'a light, a lamp'
4.	bumiya, bume	'a disguise, deceit, trick'
5-	bottiya, botte	'a small girl, a lass'
6.	middiya, midde	'a terrace, terraced house'
7.	pindiya, pinde	'a small herry'
8.	mattiya, matte	'a small ring worn on the toe'
9.	pudiya, pude	'a small ball or bend'
10.	paliyamu, palemu	'a camp, an army'

It is well known that the Sanskrit conjunct consonant jn becomes gy in Prakrit and that the Sanskrit jnāna 'wisdom', ā jnā 'order' etc., exist as gyān, āgyā, in Hindi (H.G.G. 18-24). Similarly we can see that prajnā 'wisdom', 'intelligence' must become pagyā, which latter has apparently given rise to the first couplet paggiya, pagge. The second couplet is obviously traceable to the Sanskrit mūlyam 'capital', 'principal pride'. The words bumiya, diviya, bottiya are obviously tadhavas from bhāmikā 'an actor's costume', dīpikā 'a light', patrikā 'a daughter', and are clearly the original forms of bume, dive,

botte. In regard to the other five couplets and many others that may be cited we cannot say offhand whether the form in e or that in iye is the original one, but must wait till we know their etymology. But the instances given above are enough to place us on our guard against the tacit assumption usually made (L.S.IV. p. 608) that the standard forms pode, kone, chepe etc., are the original ones and that padya, konya, chepya etc. arise from mispronunciation. The contrary supposition is the more probable one; as a matter of fact it will be seen later that e has arisen from pa.

(d) Suffixes in and ti. There remain two other suffixes in and ti which enter into past tense forms in Telugu; but there are no conjunctive participles formed with these suffixes in use at present. Of these in is unknown to Kanarese and Malayalam and is but partially employed in old Tamil and literary Malayalam; ti is altogether unknown to all these three languages. It is therefore surmised that these two suffixes were not in use in the pro-Dravidian period and are late accretions. This surmise is greatly strengthened by the character of the bases in which these suffixes are found used in Telugu.

163. PRO-DRAVIDIAN PAST-TENSE SUFFIXES.

(a) The past tense suffixes of the pro-Dravidian period are then (1) the dental suffix tu which in most cases changed into du, ndu, and ttu, the last two of which further changed into nyu and chehu after palatal sounds in Malayalam and vulgar Tamil; and (2) the palatal suffixes i, ii, and chi, which were perhaps original in some cases, but must have arisen from previous ya and chya in the vast majority of cases.

Telugu must have formed its conjunctive participles and past tense forms entirely with palatal suffixes; there is no relic in this language of any pro-Dravidian dental suffix; if any dental suffix was in use, it must have been wholly superseded and replaced by the above palatals.

Reasons have already been given in 159 above for holding that all non-causal bases in Kanarese must have formed their conjunctive participles with a dental suffix. Thus noncausal u bases like alku 'fear', ettu 'take', muttu 'surround', kuttu 'strike', which in Old Kanarese formed their conjunctive participles with the suffix i must in a still earlier stage have had participles of the form alkidu, ettidu, muttidu, kuttidu etc. These participles would have had the same form as the conjunctive participles of the causal forms of the above bases, For as the causal suffix was then only i, not iss (127), the causal stems of the above bases will be alki, etti, mutti, kutti, etc., and the participles of these stems also will be alkidu, ettidu, muttidu, kuttidu etc. It is apparently to make distinction between the two sets of participles that Kanarese appears to have adopted thi for forming the conjunctive participles of its causal and Sanskritic stems ending in i. When the accent on this i was lost, the palatal tenue th would have had a tendency to be pronounced like the palatal aspirant st, but as this sound is not tolerated in Kanarese the tenue ch has ultimately become s and the original chi has been softened into si. As is generally admitted this si has the same etymology as the Telugu chi and si.

In Tamil both to and i were in use; the latter was not confined then as now to short a bases.

(b) What is the cause of this diversity of usage? Was there not a period in which all Dravidlan languages had common past tense suffixes? It is impossible to answer the question satisfactorily with the materials at our disposal, but it may be pointed out that this diversity has its counterpart in the usage that obtained in the Prakrits which arose out of the disruption of the Vedic dialects. The Vedic

dialects themselves had dental and palatal suffixes for forming conjunctive participles. Of the four languages dealt with in Vararuchi's Prākrita Prakāsa the first three, viz., Maharashtri Paisachi and Magadhi formed their conjunctive participles with una (iv-23) tunan (x-13) and dani (xi-t6) respectively, which arose from trana and tranam by forms of the Vedic dental suffix toa while the fourth Sauraseni formed its participles with is pronounced iso or is which arose from the Vedic palatal suffix ya. This same diversity of usage is observable in the modern Aryan vernaculars of India of which Marathi and Eastern Rajasthani use suffixes derived from the Vedic tranam, while Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Sindhi, Gujarati Punjabi, Naipali use suffixes arising from the Vedic palatal suffix ya (H.G.G. 491) through the Sauraseni ia.

(c) It was seen in to above, that Gondi and Golari while possessing past tense forms containing dental tense signs have practically forgotten their old conjunctive participles from which these tense forms must have been derived, and are forming new ones in imitation of the adjoining or surrounding Aryan dialects by means of the suffixes kun, ke, ku etc. It would seem that this imitation has been going on from the time that the Dravidian Languages first came in contact with the Aryan dialects; for the pro-Dravidian suffixes mentioned in (a) above, viz., tu, i, si, ya, chya seem to be identical in form and in value with the suffixes used in pre-Christian centuries. especially about the time of Asoka and for one or two centuries previously. It is proposed to discuss here the relationship of these Aryan suffixes to the corresponding Dravidian ones. The discussion properly belongs to later chapters devoted to the erymology of Dravidian suffixes, but some of these pro-Dravidian forms appear to have given rise to new formative additions to Telugu and Kanarese roots, viz., chu, su, and nchs and it is necessary to consider the origin of these formative additions here even at the expense of having to repeat the arguments over again later,

The Aryan forms that are proposed to consider here are (1) the conjunctive participles and (2) the sigmatic acrists; and it will be necessary to exhibit the changes undergone by these forms at different stages of their evolution. Four stages have been chosen, viz., (a) the Vedic stage, (b) the Päli stage, (c) The Asokic stage and (d) the stage at the time of Vararuchi. The least artificial portion of the extant Pali literature and that nearest to the popular speech of the time is probably the prose portions of the Jataka stories, and one of these stories taken at random, viz., the Mugapakkha Jūtaka, has been analysed for the purpose of exhibiting the Pali stage of the above forms,

164. ARYAN CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES.

The practice of using the gerund of verbal noun as an indeclinable participle seems to date from the Iranian period. In the Avesta the gerunds were formed by adding the suffixes tva, ta, or ya directly to the root, but it is not clear whether these gerunds were always indeclinable (KA.V. 564; J.A.V. 718). The value of these gerunds was the same as that of the English participles—'making', 'doing' etc.

(a) Vedic dialects.

In the Vedas the suffixes added were to and ya, the former being added generally to simple roots and the latter being used with roots compounded with a prefix (upasarga). If the compounded root ended in a short vowel to was used instead of ya. It is stated that in the Rig Veda the suffix ya is long in fully two-thirds of the occurrences (W.S.G. 989, 983 (a)).

The Vedic gerunds have the force of indeclinable participles past or present, qualifying the actor whose action they describe: Examples:—

sru 'hear'	srutvå	4	driż 'sec'	daršayiteð
jna 'know'	jnātvā		eid 'know'	(caus)
sthā 'stand'	sthited		kri 'do'	kritva
viji 'conquer'			agam 'come'	āgatya -
älech 'consider' adhi-kri 'concern'	ālochya adhikritya		ālabh 'scize' anu-śās 'rule'	ālabhya anušāsya

The by-forms of the were thi and thight; two other byforms thanam and thinam are mentioned by grammarians, but they do not occur in the existing Vedas though they have left representatives in Prakrits. The suffix most used in the Rig Veda is thi.

(b) Pali.

An analysis of the forms in the Mugapakkha Jūtaka shows that out of over (260) conjunctive participles used therein only 11 are formed with the suffixes ye and tya. These are:—

1.	āhachcha (āhatya)	'having struck'
2.		'standing on'
3-	patthāya (prasthāya)	'having started, start- ing from'
4.	utthdya (utthāya)	'having risen'
5.	Gruyha (avaruhyu)	'having descended'
6.	ăruyha (ăruhya)	'having ascended'
7-	paggahya (pragrihya)	
8.	Pahdya (prahdya)	'leaving, abandoning'
9.	patichcha (pratitya)	
10.	nissaya (nissritya?)	
11.	Odaya (avadaya)	

All the remaining forms numbering over 250 and arising from 107 simple and compounded roots are formed with the suffix tos with a connecting i where necessary. Nearly one-half of the roots are compounded with prepositional prefixes. The following may be cited as examples:—

āharitvā, abhishinchītvā, vivaritvā, ukkhipitvā, *(utkshipitvā), abhiruhitvā, ālabhitvā.

It is clear that the rule of classical Sanskrit that too should be used with simple roots and you with compounded roots was known to Pali. The rule of Pali grammarians in regard to the use of you and tyo may be noted here. Tyo which regularly becomes cheho is merely a form of you initial t being inserted between the gerundial suffix you and a root ending in a wowel. Example:—pd t'depart you = pō t t you = pētyou = pētheho 'having departed' (D.P.G. 470 (c)). It will be noted that in this rule tyo is not restricted, as in Sanskrit, to roots ending in short vowels, but may be used with rivots ending in long vowels also.

(c) Asoka inscriptions:

The conjunctive participles occurring in the various Asoka inscriptions have already been detailed in (8135) above. These end mostly in two cita, a few in ti or ta, two in thya er cha, and one with a doubtful reading in i. The forms rate, dasgrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, adagrite, anafarite; alabhite, alabhite, arabhite, may be compared with the Sanskrit and the Vedic forms given sub-para. (a) above.

The forms adhigichya occurs in Asoka's letter to the Magadha Sangham and is important as showing what we might have anticipated, that eya is one of the forms into which that is corrupted (LA.Vol. XX. p. 166).

The form agache occurs in the Paderia and Nigilva Edicts and is important as showing that tou may be added to roots ending in long vowels (E.I.Vol. V. pp. 4 and 6).

Conjunctive participles formed with the, other, occur also extensively in the canonical works of the Svetam-

bara Jains written in the Arsha Prakrit otherwise called Ardhamagadhi. These forms will be found collected in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar 577, 587, Cf. also Chanda's autra II. 19, which mentions the and cheha among others, as signs of the past tense.

The above forms clearly represent a stage later than that of the Pali forms,

(d) Vararuchi's Prakrits:

The suffixes given by Vararuchi have already been mentioned in 161 b supra, viz., une, tunam, dani, and in. The last of these which was in use in Sauraseni will have been pronounced in with a 3d sruti, and as the final of words of more than one syllable is usually elided in popular speech the suffix must have had a tendency to become shortened into it; in fact it became i in Apabhramša (P.P.G. \$94) and is yi or i in most of the Aryan vernaculars of Northern India (H.G.G. 491).

It is obvious from the above (1) that in a widely understood Aryan speech in use about the time of Asoka, conjunctive participles were formed mostly with the suffixes tu or itu, occasionally with the suffixes i; thra, cheha, or the, the last three of which were added to roots ending with vowels; and (2) that in Sauraseni which has been followed by most of the Aryan vernaculars of the North the suffix used was iya (or iy) arising out of the Vedic ya.

165. ARYAN SIGMATIC AGRISTS

Aorist formations including what are called the sigmatic or the sibilant norists are common to Greek and Sanskrit, and this fact may be taken as proof that these formations must have originated in the Indo-Germanic period. In the Avestic language where the Indo-Germanic r becomes h these aorists are formed with h. (a) Sanskrit grammarians recognize four varieties of the sigmatic agrist in the Vedic literatures but we are concerned here only with two of them, viz., those called the s agrist and the ish agrist, of which the paradigms in the active voice are as follows:—

	a agrist of kri 'do'		ish avrist of pu 'cleanse'		
1. 2. 3.	Singular akārshih akārshih akārshit	PLURAL akārshma akārshta akārshuh	SINOULAR apāvisham apāvih apāvit	PLURAL apāvishma apāvishļa apāvishuh	

The value of the agrist forms in the Vedic language was that of a completed past or 'perfect' translatable by 'have done', but in the later or classical language they are simply preterites exchangeable with imperfects and perfects (W.S.G. 825).

The forms given in the paradigms above became greatly corrupted and shortened in the Prakrits. The initial augument totally disappeared in course of time as also the final consonants (sometimes syllables), and all persons and numbers appear to have been reduced to one and the same form—kārshi, or kāsi, and pāvi—though literary Pali distinguished persons and numbers by new formations based on kāri and pāvi which last were appropriated to the third person singular. In some of the northern dialects the final ri of the shortened forms appears to have been pronounced hi.

(b) Pali: Pali grammarians say that the agrist is the only true past tense in Pali, and this statement is fully borne out by an analysis of the past tense forms in the Mugapakkha Jātaka. In this Jātaka past tenses are occasionally expressed by past participles, but where tense forms are used these are almost invariably agristic formations and

adas

no forms corresponding to the Sans. fect (last) are found.

Singular third person is formed stems and si to vowel stems.

Examples .-

drabhi 'he began'; chini parideri 'she cried aloud' aroch ōtari (avatari) akas 'he descended' yachi 'she begged': anas nistdi 'he sat down'

the augument being retained in th ka, jna, da.

The second person singular l third person singular. To this lat ttha in the first person singular, fi second person plural, respective plural msu is added to the third per the final i of this singular.

Duroiselle says that the sign roots ending in vowels and the endings to the root or to the base (

(c) Asoka inscribitions,

A few agrist formations of the ing occur also in the Asoka inscrip

- (1) Grabhisu, Grabiyisu, Glabhiy (E.I. ii. p. 449) Rock es
- (2) må anulochavisu, må la them not permit' (E.J Edict IV.
- (3) nikrami 'he went forth forth' (E.I. ii. p. 457) I

MUSTS

it perfect (lif) or imper-

adding i to consonantal

i 'he thought' i 'he informed' he did'

he knew' he gave'.

case of ekach roots like

are added m, mha, and person plural, and the In the third person a singular or um replaces

tic norist is used with is inserted to join the P.G. 420).

nd we are now considerus.

'they were slaughtered' et. 1).

eshu, mā alochayisu 'let. ii. pp. 452-453) Rock

nikramisku 'they went

- (4) mā manishu 'let them not consider' (E.I. ii. pp. 463-465) Rock Edict XIII.
- (d) Vararuchi's Prakrits.

But the greatest simplification in the formation of the past tenses is recorded in Vararuchi's sutras VII, 23 and 24.

VII-23. ia bhūte. VII-24. čhachi hia,

"In is substituted for the affix after a root in a past tense; if the root is a mono-syllable then his is substituted". The substitutions are the same for all numbers and persons without distinction; that is to say, hasis from the root his 'laugh', may be used in the sense of "I, we, thou, you, he, she, it, they, laughed", and kāhis from the root ka 'do', may be used in the sense of "I, we, thou, you, he, she, it, they, did." Cowell the editor of Vararuchi says that the reference to ekach is not clear and suspects corruption in the text. He therefore quotes Hemachandra's corresponding sutras III-162, 163, which make the point clear.

III-162. si, chi, hia, bhūtārthasaya III-163. syanjanād ia.

"sī, hi, and hia, are substituted for the affixes of past tenses; if the root ends in a consonant then ia is substituted" that is to say in all persons and numbers. si and hi here have apparently arisen from the aorist forms; it is not obvious how ia and hia arose.

It is obvious from the above that the acrist forms gradually displaced the imperfect and the perfect—the lan and the lift of the grammarians—in popular speech, and had themselves become greatly shortened, assuming the same invariable forms in all numbers and persons;—

kāsi, kāhi, kāhia from ka (kri) 'do' and hāria from has

166. The derivation of the telugu past tense in ja, and et cha, che; se; and of the telugu conjunctive participles in i, chi, si, from aryan conjunctive participles.

It is clear from the account given above of the changes undergone by the Vedic forms that some of the Secondary Prakrits formed their conjunctive participles with the palaral suffixes ya, chya, and their corruptions, and that according to the rule of Pali grammarians ya was added to bases ending in consonants, and chya to bases ending in vowels. Let us suppose a Prakrit forming its participles in this manner to be contiguous to the Dravidian dialect which has now become Telugu and that the speakers of this dialect employ Prakritic suffixes in the formation of verbal participles from Dravidian roots. Taking the following Dravidian roots,

(1) kottu 'strike', anagu'besuppressed', ending in consonants, and (2) maja 'walk', kudi 'drink', nuli 'be bruised or bruise', ending in yowels the participles will be ket ya, kettiya, ana sya, ana giya, nagachya nagachiya, kudichya, kudichiya, nalichya, naliching and these will have been used at first in all persons and numbers as finite verbs in the past tense in the active voice (42-b). If we suppose the final vowels in these forms to be long as in the majority of instances in the oldest Vedic dialect (W.S.G. 993 (a)) the tense forms with personal endings are at once obtained from them by adding nu, mu, nu, nu, ctc., the third person singular and neuter plural alone being left without personal endings (42-c). The forms thus pronominalized ket juna, majuchyana etc., will be used as final verbs in the sentence, while the original forms kot ya, nadachya etc., will thenceforth be regarded and used as conjunctive participles. The non-pronominalized forms ket ye, nagashya etc., used in the third person singular and neuter plural will

in course of time assume the forms koffige, koffe, nadachiya, nadache etc. (160-c). These will also be the forms assumed by the conjunctive participles kefya, nadachya, etc., but this function is in modern times, restricted to koffi, nadachi, arising in the manner shown below. It is possible that the suffixes were not imitated so early as the Vedic period, but only at the Vararuchi period or even later during Apabhramsa times when they had become iya, iy, i.

The forms used as conjunctive participles and in the third person singular and neuter plural will have been kolfiya, nadachiya, koffiy, nadachiy, koffi, nadachi; the first two-will, by and by, have become the modern finite verbs koffe, koffiye, nadachē, nadachiyē, respectively (160-c), while the others will have become koffi and nadachi, the modern conjuctive participles.

In the case of unaccented roots the ch of the shya will be weakened into the palatal spirant s and may even become the dental s; while in the case of accented roots it will have a tendency to become doubled which will effectively preserve its sound as a tenue. In the case of the root nali which is both accented and unaccented the verbal forms arrived at in the manner indicated above will be nalichydnu etc., nalichen nalisyanu, etc., nalichen nalise, nalise etc., nalichen nalise, nalise etc.,

THE TELUGU PAST TENSE IN POSSIBLY DERIVED FROM THE ARYAN SIGNATIC AGRIFT.

It is also possible that Telugu speakers imitated the Aryan sigmatic agrists the successive deterioration of which has been described in 163. In this case the Dravidian roots combined with the Aryan suffixes will be:—

koffi, ana gi, nadassi, kudissi, nalissi, nalisi each of which was a complete paradigm representing all persons and numbers. The doubled as shows the result of accent. If Vararuchi

forms had been imitated, the finals of these forms will have been long at first, and in consonantal bases the suffix will have been iya (163-d), in Sanskrit a double is is often written and pronounced is, as in the agrist against "I dwelt" from the root vas 'dwell' and in the locative plural videatsu "among learned men' from videas 'a learned man'. The conjunct is represents the dental pronounciation of the palatal ch; the doubled is in some of the above forms might thus have been replaced by ch.

When personal endings come to be added, the combined finite verbs will most of them ultimately assume the forms: ana giri, nalichidi, kudichini, nadachini, nalisivi etc. It is possible that the forms like ana giri, pillichiri etc., arose in this way and not as supposed by grammarians from contractions of forms like ana gyāru, pilichiyāru etc. It is imposible to say at present whether the imitation of the Aryan aorists ever produced a full paradigam; only the forms for the third person are met with now.

168. The genesis of the formative syllables chi and yu.

(a) It is hardly necessary to note here that the Telugu past tense, the genesis of which is described in the last two articles, is the colloquial tense in popular use which is not even noticed in grammars. It is the oldest of the Telugu past tenses.

What is stated above as to the formation of this tense is only a theory framed so as to accord best with the known facts of the case. The oldest specimens of Telugu known to us belong probably to the 8th century A.D., while the past tense suffixes which the language has imitated were certainly in use in the Aryan vernaculars of India in the 3rd Century B.C., if not earlier. We do not know when these suffixes were adopted or what changes Telugu underwent during

these 1000 years. All that may be said with some certainty is that the palatal past tense of Telugu appears to be made on the model of Aryan palatal conjunctive participles and possibly in a few cases, of the sigmatic aorists. But it is not known which Telugu dialects followed the aorist model and which the participial model and whether any followed both. It is also not known whether there were any dental past forms in Telugu and, if so, how these came to be superseded. It is however, certain that as in the case of the Aryan languages there must have been great differences from place to place in the spoken dialects and several attempts must have been made to introduce uniformity. We have evidence of one such attempt about the close of the pro-Dravidian period.

Comparing the verbal forms ket yanu, kelte, ketti of the consonantal base kottu with the forms nadachydnu, kudichydnu, nalisyana, nadachē, nadachi, kudichē, kudichi, nalichē, nalichi, nalisa, nalisi, of vowel bases, it must have been thought that the effective past suffixes in all forms were really sa, e, and i, and that the bases of nadachyana etc., should be nadach, kudich, nalich, nalis, with the enunciative u the forms of the bases would be nadathu, kudichu, nalichu, nalisu, and having regard to the law of harmonic sequence of vowels the last three should further change into kuduchu, naluchu, and nalusu. It is not clear why the last which assumes the alternative form naiusum in the agrist should further change into naliya; perhaps the change of s to y suspends the law of harmonic sequence. The vowel bases nada, kudi, nali, have thus become lengthened into nadachu, kuduchu, naluchu, naliyu through a mistaken etymology.

(b) The following may be given as instances of the very large number of couplets of extended bases which the palatal past tense has produced out of primitive vowel bases.

SEC. [69] ARYAN GONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

Page	Non-causal	Caural
pogáju	'smoke'	bogachu
meraju	'shine'	merachu
едари	'fly up, soar'	egachu
paya	"become separated"	pachu
nuliyu	'be twisted'	mluchu
vadiyu	'fall in drops'	vaduchu
tuniyu]	'be cut to pieces'	tunuchu
tunugu J	Di ade to produc	

But there are many stray bases which do not thus occur in couples: for Example:

taniyu 'become satisfied' tadiyu 'become wet' tadayu 'delay' uliyu 'sound'

are intransitive without corresponding transitive bases ending in cha; gamiya, ganacha, 'dance, dangle' are both intransitive; daraya 'be fitted, resemble'; tiriya, tirucha, 'beg, live by alms', enaya 'resemble, mingle'; are both transitive and intransitive.

Adiyu, 'break' occurs as a transitive verb in Yudhamalla's inscription lingambu adiri 'having broken the idol'; but the form current now is aduchu.

169. The cenesis of the suffixes inche, che.

It has been pointed out more than once already that the causal bases and bases derived from Sanskrit words originally ended in i, not in inchu, as koffi, anagi, nadapi, kudipi, nalipi, puji 'adore', and bhuji 'eat' from Sanskrit puj and bhuji. There appears to have been a specially marked accent on the final i of such bases, for when cya, che, chi of the past tense come to be added to these bases the initial ch is actually written double or has an anusvara put before it, while in the case of the ordinary accented roots like, nada, kudi, nali mere pronunciation of ch as a tenue is considered sufficient; as in

madachi, kudichi, nalichi. In the earlier of the two Yuddhamalla inscriptions the form ettichche 'caused to be raised' occurs side by side with vēlvarinchinan 'if (they) drive (them) out', upēkshinchinan 'if (they) neglect'. Vide also causal forms without anusvara in §143 above under Telugu dialects.

• The causative and the Sanskritic i is apparently considered to be a distinctive sign and it is deemed very necessary to retain it. It is apparently for this purpose that this i is given a special accent and the following consonant doubled or nasalized so as to suspend the law of harmonic sequence.—

Koffinchu, anaginchu, nadapinchu, bhujinchu etc.

Another class of causals consists of bases like tola chu, pena chu, ada chu, ana chu, which have non-causal forms ending in gu:—

Tola gu, pena gu, ada gu, ana gu.

Here the question is whether these causals should be regarded as contracted forms of tola ginchu, pena ginchu etc., or as arising from the primitive accented roots tola, pena, ada, ana an ardhānusvāra being inserted before chu in imitation of the ardhānusvāra before gu. The formations probably belong to a period when the unextended roots tola, pena, ada, ana, were in use in the language side by side with the extended bases tola gu, pena gu, ada gu, ana gu, and also perhaps tola ku, pena ku, ada ku, ana ku, and may be derived from the unextended roots by the addition of the suffix chu.

170. CLASSIFICATION OF VERBAL FORMS.

(a) Pro-Dravidian and pro-Telugu forms.—It is necessary to emphasize here that the extended roots ending in chu, and yu the latter standing for m or m were originally employed only in the formation of the past tense. On referring to the section Telugu suffixes and to 154, it will be observed that the tenses and moods in which chu and yu are optionally or necessarily rejected are:

SEC. 170] CLASSIFICATION OF VERBAL FORMS

- (1) the aorist tense including first person imperative,
- (2) the imperative mood second person,
- (3) the infinitives, also the verbal nouns in adamu,
- (4) the negative forms.

These with the past tense are sufficient for all ordinary purposes of a spoken language and they all existed probably in the Pro-Dravidian, certainly in the pro-Telugu period.

- (b) Modern verbal forms,—The tenses and forms in which the suffixes thu and yu are not even optionally removed are:—
 - (1) the present participles formed with the suffixes tun, chun, ta, cha;
 - (2) the past tenses formed with the suffixes ti, in, enu, and
 - (3) the future tenses formed with the suffixes e and eda; edunu and edini.

As has been indicated more than once in the foregoing pages these formations appear to have come into existence after the old vowel bases had been extended by the suffixes the and ye.

(e) Difference in the behaviour of old and new tense and mood suffixes.—The following table exhibits the forms assumed, from time to time, by some typical bases in the four tenses and moods which have existed in Telugu from the pro-Dravidian period. As the negative forms follow the infinitives closely they are not shown separately.

Conf-part	koff ya koffi	naligya naligi	nalisya nalisi	pilichya pilichi	koftinchya kaftinchi
Cancat	koffi koffmehu koffmehu	naligi naligimbu naliginchu	ngri ngrindu wyinchu	pilipi pilipinehu pilipinehu	koffimbi koffimbinen koffimbinen
Difmition	kojim	nalugan	naliyan	piluran	kottimban kottimelan
Imperation	koffinnu	nungnpu	nalibum	pilanami	koffinipana koffinikana
Aorist	koffudun	nalugudum	nalutum	pilutunn piluchudunu	koffintum koffineladam koffineladam
Base	1. kettu	2. nalugu	3. naliyu	4. piluchu	5. koffinchu

The first line opposite to each base shows the oldestforms; these have ch only in the past tense. The behaviour
of y in the bases naliyu, pogayu etc., shows that in the basic
period the bases were merely nali or nalu, poga etc., ending in
vowels, as they are even now in Tamil. When extended by
chu they assumed the shapes naliyu, pogayu etc., in the intransitive forms instead of nalusu, pogasu etc. When the suffixes
mu, undu, an, adamu and the causal i which belong to the
pro-Dravidian period came after them no change takes place
in y. But if the present participial suffixes tun, ta, or the
past and future suffixes, in, ti, em, e, eda come after them y
at once begins to hiss, thereby showing that it is not now a
ya stuti but a substitute for s.

This contrast brings out clearly what verbal forms were in existence in the oldest period of the language and what forms were added to the languages after the extension of vowel bases by the suffixes chu, m. This classification is, however, open to the criticism that alternative forms without chu or m might once have existed in the case of some at least of what are classified as late editions. This is possible but we have to base our classifications on the evidence actually available; the classification may have to be altered if additional alternative forms are found to exist.

(d) Gradual encroachment of the syllables thu and pu on old moods and tenses.—The table given in the previous sub-para also shows that vowel bases not already extended by the suffix gu assumed three different forms in the pro-Dravidian period according to tense and mood. This will be clear from the forms:—

pilutumu piluvan pilichi:

and koffintum koffinpan koffinchi, which show that the non-causal koffi had each three different model forms,

pilu piluru piluchu and koffi, kottimpu, koffinchu, used

respectively in (1) the agrist and the imperative first person.
(2) the imperative second person, the infinitive and the verbal noun, and (3) the past 'tense.

Since then fu and chu bases have been encroaching upon moods and tenses which did not originally belong to them, The alternative forms

kottintunu, kottimpudunu, kottinchudunu,

show that they have both encroached upon (1) while koffinehan and mochan show that the suffix thu has encroached upon (2). The suffix thu has now established its right to enter into the formation of all moods and tenses, and has come to be regarded as an inseparable addition to a very large number of the old vowel bases. But there must have been a long period in which koffimpu, koffinchu, were regarded as alternative verbal bases before the latter gained the final victory. It is probably to this period that the alternative present participles koffimpuchu and koffinchuchu should be referred.

The causal form pilipinchs with a hard p shows that the v in piluve is a softened form of p_*

171. Special forms of conjunctive participles

In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese there are a number of u bases of which the conjunctive participles and past tense forms are formed by doubling the last consonant of the bases. The doubled consonant has always the tenual sound even in cases where the original consonant was a media,

Base Conjunctive participles

1. uku 'be spilt or scattered' ukku
2. toku 'be collected or gathered' tokku

naku 'laugh, smile' nakku

SEC. 171] SPECIAL PORMS OF CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

Conjunctice participles

Base

	COMPANY NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE PARK NAME AND	officers seen been reaches
	Tamil	
4	mike 'remain, be left over'	mikku
5+	pulu 'enter'	pukku
6.	adu 'cook'	oftu.
7.	ida 'put, place, give alms'	ittu _
8.	padu 'suffer'	pattu
9.	todu 'touch'	tottu
10.	vidu 'leave'	vittu
II.	kedu 'be spoilt'	kettu
12.	nadu 'plant'	naffu
13.	aru 'cease, become extinct'	orru
14-	peru 'beget, bring forth'	pereu
15.	seru 'hate, kill'	serru
16.	iru 'break, be severed'	irru
		12.00

No separate examples are given for Malayalam as most of the Tamil words above are also found in that language,

Kanarese

All the Tamil words shown above as ending in du are also found in Kanarese and form their conjunctive participles in the same manner; the following may also be mentioned:

	Base	Conjunctive participles
1.	isu 'discharge, shoot'	ichehu
2,	pasu 'divide, apportion'	pachchu
3.	bisu 'unite firmly, solder'	bichehu
4.	egu 'be split'	ekku
5.	pogu 'enter'	pokku
6.	nagu 'laugh'	nakku
7-	migu 'remain'	mikku
8	sign 'fall into the hands of	f' sikku

Dr. Kittel's explanation is that in all these cases the t of the conjunctive participle suffix ti changes into t, th or k as the case may be. This explanation is hardly satisfactory. One can understand dt becoming tt in sandhi but it is hard to believe that it and kt became theh, kka respectively.

In Telugu the thirteen roots enumerated in 134 c, above form their conjunctive participles by adding the suffix i but they have alternative past relative participles obtained by doubling their last consonants and eight of the thirteen have also alternative past tense forms obtained by doubling these consonants.

The past participles and finite verbs in which the last consonants of the roots are doubled can be satisfactorily derived from past forms containing the Vedic gerundial palatal suffix 3a. Ordinarily when a Sanskrit conjunct consonant containing y as its second member passes into Prakrit, the second member is often absorbed by the first consonant which is then doubled. In fact, according to Vararuchi's rules (III-2, 50, 31)1 absorption and doubling seem to be the rule and the resolution of the conjunct by the interposition of a glide vowel between seems to be the exception. Prakrit instances of such resolution will be found collected in P.P.G. 134. The following instances of the doubling of the first consonant without changing it are taken from P.P.G. 279, 572.

- kya, kka, chāṇakka, chāṇakya (a proper name);
 paraka, parakya 'alien, hosnile';
 vāka, vākya(m) 'a sentence'
 sakka, sakya 'practicable'
- (ii) kkhyā, kkhā, ākkhāi, ākhyāti, 'narrates' sakkha, saukhya(m), 'pleasure'
- 1. Vide next page at foot.

SEC. 171] SPECIAL FORMS OF CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLES

- (iii) gya, gga, jogga, yogya, 'fit' veraga, vairāgya(m), 'indifference to the world' sohagga, saubhāgya(m), 'good fortune, blessedness'
- (ii) chya, chcha, muchchai, muchyatë, 'is liberated' vuchchadi, uchyatë, 'it is stated' vācha, vāchya, 'blameable'
- (v) jya, jja, jujjai, yujyatë, 'it is fit and proper' rājja, rājya(m) 'kingdom'
- (vi) fyo, fta, tuffai, trufyati, 'it breaks, falls asunder' loffai, lufyati, 'it wallows on the ground'.
- (vii) dya, dda, kudda, kudya(m), 'a wall'; piddai, pldyatë, 'it is molested'
- (viii) dhya, ddha, addha, adhya, 'rich, wealthy'
 - (ix) gya, ppa, kuppai, kupyati, 'he becomes angry'; suppau, suppa ām 'let it sleep'; ānappa, ājnapyā 'to be enjoined'; viṇṇapa, vijāāpyā 'fit to be communicated or reported'.
- (x) bya, bb, bhya, bbha, pibba, pibya, 'to be drunk'; abbhantara, dbhyantara, 'interior, intimate'
- 111-2 Adho mānayam.—The consonants m, n, y are elided when last in a conjunct.
- 111-50 Sëshadësayor dvitoam apādau. Wherever after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct this letter is always doubled except in the beginning of a word.
- #11-51. Vargēshu yujah pūrvah. When the doubling enjoined by the previous sūtra takes place wherever the single representative is an aspirate it is to be doubled by profixing its own nonaspirate.

abbhuvavanna, abhyupapanna 'consoled', 'protected' ibbha, ibhya, 'wealthy, opulent'.

The above examples make it clear that if we formed the past tenses of the original roots nak, 'laugh', puk 'enter', nak, 'plant', ak 'cook', with the Vedic suffix ya the tense forms will be nakyan, pukyan, nakyan, akyan, and these may change into nakkan, pukkan, nakyan, akyan, by the absorption of y and the doubling of the previous consonant. The doubled consonant may have arisen in many cases in this manner and the conjunctive participles may have subsequently coined from the tense forms. This is put forward as an alternative theory to Dr. Kittel's view who supposes that the sign t of the past tense has in every case mentioned above been changed into the last consonant of the root.

In Telugu forms padda du, chedda du etc., in which a has the sound of the a in the English hade would seem to indicate the previous existence of ay which has been absorbed (§134-b).

172. SUFFIX tya OR chya IN KANARESE

The syllable su in the Kanarese causative suffix isu appears to have the same origin as the Telugu chu. If we suppose Kanarese causative bases to have ended in the suffix i as they undoubtedly did in Telugu, the past participles with the tya suffix will take the forms:-madichya 'having done', hakichya 'having put', kayichya 'having heated' etc., and as Kanarese had early lost the habit of accenting the vowel endings of verbal bases, these forms would ultimately have become madisi, hakisi. Kanarese does not tolerate the palatal aspirant s. As in Telugu new lengthened bases formed with these suffixes will be madisu, hakisu, kayisu etc. That the Kanarese causal stems originally ended with a that there was then an accent on this i, and that the syllable in was a latter addition are proved by the alternative forms like madiba, madikum, madikkum etc., side by side with the forms madisusus, madisugum, which have survived to modern times. (§ 127).

173. SUPPLY by IN TAMIL

It has been supposed in 161 above that, in the pro-Dravidian period, Tamil formed its conjunctive participles for vowel bases solely with the suffix tu (ttu and ndu). There are however, certain causal and other forms which are best explained on the supposition that an attempt had been made in the pro-Dravidian or pro-Tamil period to form conjunctive participles with the suffix tya. Many vowel and consonantal bases now form their causals by means of the syllable tu;

R	ont	Causal form	I.	Coot	Causal form
nada	'walk'	nadattu	sel	'go'	seluttu
puku iru	'enter'	pukuttu irattu	varu(vd)	'come'	tinru
nit	'stand'	niguttu	mát	'eat'	sttu
			kan	'sec'	kättu

If we suppose that an attempt had been made to form conjunctive participles in tya, the participles of the accented, that is causal forms of the above named roots would have been:

nadatti	selutti
pukutti	varutti
inutti	tinri
niyutti	atti
	katti

which might, by mistaken analogy, have been supposed to arise by the addition of the conjunctive participle. Suffix i to the Causal bases shown above. In Old Tamil there are sporadic instances of the suffix tu being suffixed to non-causal bases, thus roots puku 'enter' and $p\bar{o}$ 'go' are sometimes inflected with a pleonastic du^1 , as if there were then in use the non-causal bases pukuduand $p\bar{o}du$ but these have not survived in Modern Tamil.

Two causal bases käythchu, päythchu, derived from the roots käy' be heated, dry' and päy 'to flow (as water)', require special mention here. Bishop Caldwell argued (C.D.G., pages 49, 99 and 350) from the supposed analogy of Telugu and on the basis of vulgar pronunciation in the extreme south of the Tamil country that käythchu had arisen from the palatialisation of kk in an assumed käythu and that päythchu arises from päytku. The form käythu appears as the causal bases of käy in Silappadikaram (XXI-55) where käythya is used in the sense of 'for the purpose of burning'. The form päythu is stated to have been found in an old Tamil inveription' in the sense of 'irrigate'. It is thus clear that the cheku of the two bases arises from thu, not from kku.

We must refer here to a small number of couplets in Tamil in which the suffix tu pronounced du and nasalized produces a non-causal base while the same suffix pronounced hard and doubled produces the corresponding causal base. Examples:—

 ⁽a) 'pukudinum' 'even if it enters' (Silap. XVI, 1-179) nin manai p pukudāļ "she will not enter your house (Mani: XXIV-81).

⁽b) podu 'go'; poduvār 'they will go'; poduval 'I will go', poduvāl 'she will go'; poden 'I will not go' (Silap, and Mani.)

The late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri quotes (foornote page 16 Tamil Philology—verbs) the phrase paytta-ppervaraka "They will be entitled to irrigate" from a copper plate grant obtained from Kumbakonam.

SEG. 174] ACTION NOUN SUFFIXES IN TAMIL

tirundu 'be rectified' : tiruttu 'rectify'
porundu 'be joined, fit' : poruttu 'join, cause to fit'
varundu 'suffer, be afflicted: varuttu 'cause suffering
afflict'
alundu 'be indented or : aluttu 'depress, press'
depressed'

There appear to be no corresponding couplets in Telugu or Kanarese though some of the above bases are found in these languages also;—

Kanarese: aldu, addu, 'dip' (trans.); 'sink in a fluid' (intrans.)

pordu, poddu, pondu, 'join' (trans.) 'obtain' (trans.)

tirdu, tiddu, 'make straight' (trans.)

Telugu: diddu 'correct, rectify' (trans.)

174. ACTION NOUN SUFFIXES IN TAMIL

The forms mentioned in the previous para raise the presumption that formerly in certain Tamil dialects conjunctive participles might have been formed in all cases with the suffix tya. This surmise is rendered a certainty by the fact that the suffix tal may be added to all bases to form action nouns.

The usual action noun suffixes are al and tal, the former of these is added to unaccented bases, the latter may be added to any base accented or unaccented. Examples:—

Base	Astion noun	Base	Action Noun
sty 'do'	seyal seytal	iruttu 'cause to sit'	iruttal iruttutal
oilu 'fall'	vilal viludal	kida 'be', 'remain'	kidattal
odu 'run'	öğal öğutal	nil 'stand' padu 'lie down'	nirral paguttal

Sel 'go' Sellal nada 'walk' nadattal Sellutal iru sit' iruttal

mad attu 'cause nadattal to walk nadattutal

The real action noun suffix is at and tal is merely tal where t arises from the old habit of adding a pleonastic tu to every root. Even apart from this when the final vowel of a root is accented and the suffix begins with a vowel the expiratory accent requires a consonant to spend itself on, as it were. There is no such accessity for a consonant in the case of unaccented roots where the interposition of twhen it occurs is merely due to an old habit and is therefore optional.

There are, in use in colloquial Tamil, a large number of words originally action nouns which in many cases have now

acquired special significations.

Roots

Derived nouns 'heat, be heated' kov käychchal 'fever' kay 'make a loud noise' kachchal 'loud outery' mey "graze" mēychchal 'grazing pasture' 'make a noise' trai iraichal 'noise' 'discharge' kali kalichchal 'looseness of bowels' "burn" eri erichehal 'burning sensation' 'go to and from, wander' alaichthal 'wandering' alai 04 "cense" Oythchal 'feeling of tiredness' cessation. tuni 'be hold' tunichthal 'temerity' pay 'flow (as to water to paychchal 'irrigation', to spring crops) spring': as of a tiger, cat, etc. vilai 'grow' vilaichal 'growth', 'yield' odi, odai 'break' adisal, adaisal 'broken things' tey be worn out' legial 'worn out things' madi 'become earth-eaten' madial 'earth-caten things'

In all these cases the initial t of the action noun suffix. coming after the sounds i, at, y has become palatalized.

CHAPTER XI CAUSAL FORMATIONS

175. THE MODERN DRAVIDIAN METHOD OF FORMING GAUSALS.

The manner of forming causal bases in the cultivated Dravidian languages has been explained in §§102, 118 (g), 126 and 140. As a general rule and subject to exceptions every vowel base could, in the pro-Dravidian period, be converted into its causal form by merely accenting its final vowel. (§9t). This method has now become obsolete in Kanarese and obtains only to a limited extent in Tamil and Malayalam, while in Telugu there are now practically no bases ending in vowels. The modern method of forming causals is as follows:—

- (1) Tamil: The invariable causative suffix is \$\theta\$ i which becomes \$\theta\$ is after accented vowel bases and is softened to at after unaccented bases. The suffix is added to all roots whether ending in vowels or consonants.
- (2) Maloyolom: Causal stems are formed as in Tamil, by the addition of pi (ppi) to accented roots and pi to unaccented roots. But most unaccented roots add only i.
- (3) Konarase: The most usual causative suffix is im which appears as as in themes ending in y, l, r, and r and occasionally as am. In the ancient and medieval dialects the causative suffix was one in the case of themes ending in r, l, ll, and occasionally ichs, was affixed in the medieval dialect.
- (4) Telugu: With a few exceptions bases ending in the form their causatives by changing into pinchu. Roots

not ending in the generally form their causals by adding inthe; in some cases the final syllable is changed into the. In the case of the following verbs and some others the final the is changed into pu:—

naluchu, těchu, môchu, chūchu, nalugu, malugu, medugu, tunugu.

(5) All the above languages form a large number of bases from Sanskrit words by the addition of inchu (Telugu), im (Kanarese), and i (Tamil and Malayalam) to suitable bases, Examples —

Sanskrit word	Telugu	Kanarese	Tamil and
			Malayalam.
bhuj 'eat'	bhujinchu	bhujisu	bhuji
jaya 'victory'	jayinchu	jayisu	jayi
Sayana 'lying down'	Sayaninchu	Sayanisu	\$ayani

Some bases are also formed in Telugu by suffixing ilu or illu to Sanskrit bases.

Sometimes in the ancient and medieval dialects of Kanarese a euphonic y is used before the in; in the medieval dialect this euphonic y sometimes changes also into v.

BISHOP CALDWELL'S EXPLANATION OF THE CAUSATIVE i, vi., pi.

What is the origin of this causative particle f and of the p which is prefixed to this i in the case of all causals in Tamil, and in the case of many causals in Telugu and Malayalam? Bishop Caldwell says in his book at page 354:

'Origin of the Dravidian Causal particle i.' The oldest form of the Indo-European causative particle is supposed to be the Sanskrit and (with p prefixed after a root in a). and becomes i in old Slavonic, and the apparent identity between this i and the Dravidian i is noteworthy. Notwithstanding this.

it does not seem to me either necessary or desirable to seek for the origin of Dravidian particles out of the range of the Dravidian languages, if those languages themselves provide us with the tolerably satisfactory explanation. The Dravidian causative particle i may be supposed to have been derived from i 'give'.

In regard to the p which precedes the i, Bishop Caldwell says in his book at page 353:

"The Tamil future tense signs seem to throw light on themselves to which the causal particle i is affixed. It is remarkable, at all events, that these three (future) signs, v, b, pp are identical with the formatives of the causal verb, in what-way-soever this identity may be accounted for, so that if we know which of these three signs is used by any verb in the formation of its future tense, we know at once how the causal of the same verb is formed. Compare:

varu v ën 'I will come' with varu v i 'cause to come';

edu pp en'I will take up' with edu pp i 'cause to take

up, erect';

padi pp ên 'I will learn' with padi pp i 'cause to learn, teach'.

"The explanation of this curious coincidence seems to be that the Tamil future was originally a sort of abstract verbal noun, which came to be used as a future by the addition of pronominal signs, whilst the same abstract neuter noun was converted into a causal (as we have seen probably the case also with Telugu causals in pinchu) by the addition to it of the causal particle. The addition of the causal particle in all cases in Kanarese to the verbal root would seem to indicate an older period of Dravidian speech." (Page 354.)

Bishop Caldwell notes the apparent identity between the Aryan (Slavonic) suffix i and the Dravidian i but does not consider it necessary or desirable to seek for the origin of Dravidian particles out of the range of Dravidian languages. This is only one of a large number of identities which he has ignored or rejected as being merely apparent. A philologist should be guided in these matters not by what one may consider necessary or desirable but what the history of the forms shows to be the actual root in fact.

What Bishop Caldwell regards as three identities between v, b, pp of the future and of the causals is only one identity for every p, whatever its origin, will become v, b and pp after unaccented, nasal, and accented bases; $\epsilon.g.$ vara v δn 'I will come.'; kdn b δn 'I will see'; nada pp δn , 'I will walk'.

Further what Bishop Caldwell calls abstract neuter nouns are in many cases used as causals in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu without the causative suffix i. Thus Tamil eluppa 'raise', nirappu 'fill', tiruppu 'cause to turn'; Telugu nalupu 'crush'; champu 'kill'; melupu 'beat in mortar' and a number of other pu bases enumerated in § 153 above are even now used as causal bases. It will also be seen from § 154 above that the causal forms of a large number of lengthened chu bases formerly ended in pu and that pinchu or inchu was a later innovation.

Lastly it may be remarked, in anticipation, that the causative p and the future p appear to have different origins.

177. THE ARYAN METHOD OF FORMING GAUSALS

The causal formations in Sanskrit are what are called nich-anter by Hindu Grammarians; the nich being nothing more than a suffix i (ommitting n and ch) which is invested with certain characteristics, in consequence of which it causes widdhi and guna changes in the vowel of the root to which it is attached. It is well known that the substitution of high grade and long grade vowels for simple vowels,

generally results from a shift of accent (M.V.G. Vowel Gradation).

As a thematic vowel a invariably follows the causative particle i in tense forms it is itself converted into a and becomes aya in combination with the rhematic vowel in all tense forms. The accent on the a of aya is called the causal accent by foreign grammarians. A few examples will illustrate this:—

Root	Original sup- posititious forms		Strengthened form		Final form
chi 'collect'	chi i	4	chai e	a	chāyaya
śru 'hear'	fru 1	a	frau e	a	stātoja
kri 'do'	kri 1	a	kar e	a	kāraya
char 'move'	thar i	a	char e	a.	chāraya

In the above illustrations the modified roots end in consonants, and the a of aya has merely to attach itself to these consonants. But when the root ends in a there is a necessity for the insertion of a consonant to fill the hiatus between this a and the initial a of aya; and this consonant has always been p, from the Indo-Iranian period. Examples:

Roct	Original form	Strengthened	Final form
sthā 'stand' dā 'give'	sthà i a	form sthā ay a dā ay a	sthāpaya dāpoya

(b) In course of time the use of this interposed p in the causal formations began to be extended also to bases not ending in a. Even in the Vedas it had come to be used with some bases ending in f and ri. For instance:

ji 'conquer' jāpaya; kshi 'possess' kshēpaya; śri 'resort' (ud)śrāpaya; ri 'go' arpaya.

In māpaya, jūāpaya, srāpaya, from the roots mā 'bathe', jūā 'know', srā 'boil', the root vowel is shortened. (M.V.G. 558.) We have seen that in the Asoka inscriptions the interposed p had come to be used almost with any kind of base and even with bases ending in consonants as in kridapayati, pldapayati. In the literary Prakrits the causal stem was made from all roots by the addition of the equivalent of apaya, i.e., by aye or ave. (W.S.G. 1042-n.)

(c) Although the causal sign aya appears in almost all tense forms it was not expressed in several important verbal formations even in standard Sanskrit, the only indication that these formations are causal, being the strengthening of the roots by a guna or a widdhi change of their vowels or the presence of the interposed p. In the past participle passive the causative particle i though expressed does not undergoguna change.

Verbal noun	Gonjunctive participle in ya		Past participle passive in ta
māraņam 'killing'	pratisthapya 'having established'	sthapaya; sthapaniye 'that ought to be established'	a sthöpitam
srd panam 'cooking'	anusārya 'having followed'		sāritam
ājāāpanam 'commandin	g*	******	

All causal past passive participles are formed with i, ia, with strong grade of root syllable. (Brug. Vol. IV, 795). Brugmann considers that the i of this suffix is etymologically connected with the causative particle and that it is an organic part of the base, is in fact a root determinative from which the and of the causative and of the Sanskrit denominative forms may have arisen (§§ 789 and 798). These suffixes appear to be traceable to the Indo-Germanic period. Brugmann's view

is that the causal past participles passive Sanskrit roots and denominative bases for instance of wit 'turn round', dhri 'carry support', vri 'hinder', mantra, 'counsel', tarka 'guess' are formed from the extended bases vart i, dhar i, var i, mantr i, tark i.

On the other hand, foreign Sanskrit grammarians for instance, Professors Whitney and Macdonell, consider the i of the causal past participle passive suffix i to be an inorganic union vowel. (M.V.G. 575 c; W.S.G. 1051 b.) In their view the causative suffix in Sanskrit is aya and they appear to regard the causative i (nich) of the Indian grammarians to be an artificial device.

That it is not an artificial device is clear from allied forms in other Indo-Germanic languages—especially Germanic and Balto-Slavonic (Brug, IV 804-807). Brugmann also considers the p of the Indo-Iranian suffix pays to be a root-determinative (797 ibid). Allied forms in other Indo-Germanic languages leave little room for doubt that the Indian grammarians must be following some heavy tradition when they take sys to be made up of i (nich) s.

(d) Another class of denominative inflexions, also of Indo-Germanic origin, which may be mentioned here are those of stems in which the final a is lengthened.

Professor Whitney notes that such inflexions may in Sanskrit be in the middle of the active voice and that middle forms have an intransitive or reflexive meaning; e.g., kaluşdyatê 'is or becomes turbid', tarunāyatē 'is rejuvenated', sithilāyatē 'grows loose'.

There are certain verbal bases in Tamil which are formed by lengthening the final a of nouns. These appear to be in imitation of the above denominative stems. 30ka (i) be afflicted with grief, (ii) faint, fall in a swoon,

from fokam (i) grief, (ii) fainting, loss of consciousness.

- (2) annā 'open the mouth looking upward' from the Dravidian anna m high, upwards.
- (3) angā 'yawn, open the mouth', e.f. Telugu angil i Kanarese angal i 'the palate'.
- (4) ēma f be overjoyed, self-conceited, be exhila-
- (5) Semma \(\frac{1}{2}\) rated. These words appear to be derived from \(\tilde{e}\) mam and \(\frac{1}{2}\) mam meaning 'security, happiness, joy', which are corruptions of the Sanskrit \(\tilde{k}\) h\(\tilde{e}\) ma 'security'.
- (6) igumā. A third base having the same meaning is igumā the original form of which is not clear.
- (e) It would seem from the examples given in §553 of Pischel's Prakritic Grammar that in popular and vulgar dialects such Apabhramağa Arithamāgadhi, and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, the causative suffix may be suppressed in tense forms also, the lengthening of the roots or the presence of p being the only indication that the forms are causal. Following are some of the examples given Pischel—

Prakritic form

padai marai

nasai, nasavai

vēdanti thavai hasavai

bhamavai

Corresponding Sanskrit form patati for patayati 'fell' mārati for mārayati 'kill'

nāšati for nāšayati nāšapati for nāsāpayati 'destroys' vēdanti for vēdayanti '(they) inform'

sthāpati for sthāpayati 'frees'

hasapati for hāsāpayati 'causes to laugh'

bhramapati for bhrdm@payati 'causes to whirl' karavai kārāpati for Kārāpayati 'causes to
be done'
vijhāpati for vijhāpayati 'informs,
requests'
palavai pralāpati for pralāpayati 'laments'
nimmavai nirmāpati for nirmāpayati 'creates'
adhavai ādhāpati for ādhāpoyati 'causes
to be placed'

Other forms which may be quoted here from Pischel are:-

Samthavanti, vidhavai, patthavai, haravai.

This practice seems to have begun even in the Indo-Iranian period; for in Kanga's Avestic Grammar it is stated: 'In some rare instances the causal is formed by changing or lengthening the radical vowel without subjoining the characteristic oya. (K.A.G. 523.)"

Examples:

Root	Iranian form	Sanskrit form
sad 'fall'	sazdum 'hew ye' for	sädayadhoam
noś 'perish'	na śmi 'I destroy' for	nā sayāmi
\$10 'hear'	frata 'well proclaimed'	\$rāvita
mru 'die'	mrūra 'killing'	mārana.

- (f) The above is a very brief account of causal formations in the Aryan languages. It is impossible in this book to go into greater details—in fact, it is unnecessary to do so. The main points to be noted in the above analysis are:—
- (1) the causative suffix i which bears an accent and which the Indo-Germanic philologists call a root-determinative. It is changed to e when the thematic a follows and becomes aya in combination with this a.
- (2) the accent on the vowel of the root which in consequence undergoes ging or widdhi change;

- (3) when the root thus strengthened does not end in a consonant the interposition of the consonant p between the final vowel of the root and the causative suffix;
- (4) the absence of the causative gys or i in several verbal formations, the strengthening of the roots and the presence of the interposed p being the only indications that the formations are causal;
- (5) the continual extension of the use of the interposed p to other vowel bases and even to consonantal bases, the optional use of apaya for apaya in the Asoka inscriptions and of av (ap) in popular idioms without the causative sign aya (e) or i.
- (6) the absence of the causative sign even in tense formations in popular idioms such as Apabhramsa, Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Mahā āṣṭrī; and
- (7) the existence of such tense formations, though in rare instances, without the causative sign apa or i even in the Avestic literature.

178. COMPARISON OF ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN METHODS

(a) Telugu:—Let us take the following examples given by Pischel: thavai, patthavai, samthavai, vinnavai, nimmavai, adhavai, nasavai of which the bases should have originally had the forms:

sthap for sthap 'fix, place'; prasthap for prasthap 'despatch, dismiss';

samasthap for samsthap 'place, fix'; vijkap for vijnap 'inform, beg';

nimap for nimāp 'cause to be built'; adhap for adhāp 'cause to be deposited'; nāsap for nāṣāp 'destroy' the wowels preceding the final p are shortened in these examples and there is no indication that the forms are causal except the presence of p.

The Telugu causal stems of the bases mentioned in 140, 153 above, deprived of the enunciative u will be nalup, tep, mop, chup, nalup, malup, madup, tump; these correspond exactly in formation to the Aryan stems and appear to be in imitation of them.

Again let us consider the pro-Dravidian or pro-Telugu forms (§168 a.) of a base now ending in chu, say, nadachu 'walk':—

> causal: nada p adamu, nada p an, nada p ani; non-causal: nada v adamu, nada v an, nada v ani causal: nada p undu non-causal: nada v undu, nada chya, nada tu nu.

We see that Telugu uses this interposed a only for the purpose of filling the hiatus between vowels; the tenual pronunciation of p shows that the Dravidian accent in the case of causal forms has not been forgotten. This observation may be objected to on the ground that the forms nada in nu and nada chos, containing the tenual pronunciation of s and ch occur in the non-causal paradigm. True: this is one of the whims that are often noticed in the languages spoken by millions of people in which the selection of forms cannot be expected to be conducted always on a logical basis. Telugu retains the non-causal forms agast, pogast, side by side with the causal forms agachi, pogachi. Similarly it might have retained the non-causal form nagasi, corresponding to the causal for nadachi; but it has not done so, and we have to accept the fact. Having selected the causal forms nada bu du mu and nada b i it has rejected nadadum and nadasi, if these forms ever existed in the language, and has relegated nada tu mu and mada chya to the non-causal paradigm.

The same remarks apply to many other roots ending in chu. In Tamil also we have the anamoly that the noncausal bases nada 'walk', para 'fly', etc., are unaccented only in the past tense.

(b) Tamil:—As has been pointed out in 95 b, there are a number of verbal bases in Tamil which the rule that the final vowel should be accented when the base is used causatively is strictly observed. The number of such vowel bases was much larger in the older stages of the language and it will have been seen from the examples given in \$95 (4) that even the vowels of consonantal bases were accented in some cases.

The accent in the Indo-Aryan languages was musical or pitch accent and affected the gradation of the vowels accented; while in the Dravidian languages the accent was murely a stress on the vowel the result of which was to double the initial consonants of the suffixes attached to the bases. In the examples quoted above from Pischel mere accentuation of the root-vowels i.e., a change in their gradation was enough in popular speech to convert a verbal base to its causal stem, and similar examples quoted above from the Avesta would seem to show that this method is as old as the Indo-Iranian period, not an innovation on Indian soil.

The suggestion of the present writer is that the Pro-Dravidian and Tamil method of accenting the final vowel of a root to convert it into its causal stem is an imitation of the methods adopted in the popular Indo-Aryan idioms. This method has, as has been pointed out in §147-149, 153, 171 produced a large number of lengthened bases.

As in Telugu the p of the pu causals eluppu, tiruppu, kilappu, kuppu, nirappu, kulappu, etc. (§ 153) merely arises from an imitation of the Aryan interposed p; this p is used also in the literary dialect in the infinitives and subjunctives of accented roots to fill the hiatus between two vowels. In the popular speech the hiatus in filled by && (§ 112 c).

- 179. CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES ilu or illu, i, pi (vi)
- (a) There is a root il or ilu of the 10th conjugation which is thus referred to in the Dhātupātha lists of roots:—

'ila prēranē' ila is used in the sense of 'urging or driving'.
But prēraņā in grammar also denotes the 'causal form' and
the Aryan cultivators of the Telugu language are in the habit
of adding this il (or ilu) to Sanskrit roots and using the
compounds as Telugu verbal bases in the same manner as the
prēraņā (causative) suffix i is added to Sanskrit bases for the
purpose of converting them into Dravidian bases.

khid khēdillu 'be afflicted'; subh sobhillu 'shine';

chit chintillu 'think or reflect';

(Campbell's Grammar §371)

These forms differ from the Tamil-Malayalam denominatives given in §173 (5) only in containing illu instead of the suffix i.

- (b) The suffix i is apparently an imitation of the Indo-Iranian i which was originally a root-determinative and has given rise to the gw of the Sanskrit causals and determinatives. The only verb-forms in which it is now seen unchanged are the causal past participles passive.
- (ε) The suffix pi (εi) which may be added to all Tamil bases without exception and to all vowel bases and to some consonantal bases in Malayalam is also an adaptation from the Indo-Iranian forms. It stands in the same relation to the Indo-Iranian paya that the suffix i stands to aya and is made up of p and i; Brugmann considers this p also to have been a root determinative in its inception.

- (d) The Dravidian and the Indo-Iranian thus agree in the following respects:—
- (1) Accenting the vowel of a root to convert it into its causal stem. The accent changed the gradation of the vowel in Indo-Iranian, it merely led to the doubling of the initial tenues of suffixes coming after vowel bases in Dravidian. Where the suffix began with a vowel a tenue had to be interposed between the root and the suffix.
- (2) Formation of causal and denominative stems by the addition of an in Indo-Aryan and of i including its, inche, in Dravidian. There is reason to believe that i was the original of an; in any case the two suffixes are etymologically related.
- (3) Formation of causal stems by paya in Indo-Aryan and of pi (including pinchu) in Dravidian, the two suffixes being related in the same way as opa and i.
- (4) Formation of denominative bases by lengthening the final a of nouns.

180. THE LENGTHENING OF THE PRO-DRAVIDIAN ROOTS.

- (a) So far as we can form a conception from a comparison of the materials available in the cultivated Dravidian languages, the verbal bases of the pro-Dravidian language consisted of:—
 - consonantal bases like,
 koffu, 'beat'; tiffu 'abuse'; tannu, taffu 'push';
 kaffu 'bind' etc.

(Note:-The final u of these bases is enunciative.)

- (2) ada, ana, kala, mada, madu, pena, tola, tuna, eru, kada, etc. (§149 b)
- (3) nada, mara, kara, le, nilu, me etc. (§154 (a))
- (4) nāli, poga, egu, nuli, vadi, me, etc. (§166)

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It is difficult to say now whether all these radicals were used as verbal bases, and in the case of any of them whether the Tamil final vowel was a or ai, i or u. Some of these radicals are still in use in Tamil as verbal bases but the final vowels in that language are not the same as shown above in some cases.

These radicals were converted into their causal stems by laying a stress or accent on their final vowels.

(b) one of the suffixes used in the pro-ethnic period began with a k and now exists in the form ku.

It has lost its original signification, whatever that was, and is now become permanently attached to the root, forming what is called a root extension or a formative syllable (§150). In Tamil this ku has given rise, in many cases, to causal and non-causal couplets. (§147.)

adangu adakku madangu madakku pinangu pinakku odungu odukku

Telugu possesses lengthened non-causal bases ending in gu corresponding to the radicals shown in (a) (2) above, but not accented bases ending in ku or ku (\$149 b).

It is difficult to say for certain now whether causal forms with a ku suffix were ever in actual use in Telugu though it is probable that they were.

(ε) Another particle which became permanently attached to the root even in the pro-Dravidian period was the letter ρ which in its inception was a junction consonant and was adopted to fill the hiatus between two vowels—the final vowel of the base and the initial vowel of the suffix—in imitation of the interposed causative ρ in low colloquial Aryan idioms. The causative meaning itself was expressed by the stress on the radical vowel. This gave rise to two forms—one with a tenual ρ and the other with a ν or mb. Of these a

limited number of bases ending in pu are now in use as causal stems in Telego; in Tamil-Malayalam there is a small number of couplets ending in mbu and ppu.

- (d) The formative syllable tu which plays such an important part in the ease of Tamil and Malayalam bases is hardly noticeable in Telugu or Kanarese. It arose out of the Vedic conjunctive participle suffix tya and has given rise, in Tamil and Malayalam, to a number of causal bases in the and a limited number of complets in ndu and thu (§171).
- (c) A fourth suffix beginning with a tenue which was in use in the pro-Dravidian period as a past tense suffix was chya which became sya after unaccented roots, and has given rise to the Telugu formative syllables chu and su and a couplet of roots corresponding to each radical of the kind shown in (a) (4) above.
- (f) in addition to these there were the causative suffixes, pi which have since become lengthened into isu, inchu, pinchu but which have not yet permeated down to all colloquial strata. They appear to have been superimposed on the previous pro-Dravidian causals which they are displacing (§177).
- (g) One of the old radicals which have been lengthened by each of the formatives ku, pu, chu, is the Telugu nali:

	Non-causal	Causal	
(1)	naligu	naluku naluchu }	
(2)	naluvu }	nalupu	
(3)	nalusu }	naluchu	

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Successive lengthening of the stem in order of time are, for instance,

kottu, kotti, kottimpu, kottinchu kottu, kotti, kottimpu, kottimpi, kottimpimpu, kottimpinchu nada, nadapu, nadapi, nadapimpu, nadapinchu HAVE THE REPORT OF THE PERSON NAMED IN

ARYAN GERUNDIAL SUFFIXES

181. ARYAN GERUNDS AT VARIOUS STAGES

- (A) Iranian.—The practice of using the gerund or verball noun as a verbal participle dates at least from the Iranian period. In the Avesta the gerund was formed by the addition of -thva (changeable to -tva after s and \$), -ta, or -ya -directly to the root. This form had generally the same signification as the Latin gerund in -ndum, e.g., vāta 'blowing' stōta 'praising', phramainya 'thinking', phrajathva 'smiling'. (K.A.C. para. 564.)
- (B) Old Indo-Aryan.—The so-called gerund in Sanskrit is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, having the force of an indeclinable participle which qualifies the actor and denoting an action which accompanied or (more often) preceded that signified by the principal verb of the clause. (W.S.G. § 989.)
 - (1) Vedic dialects.—The following suffixes occur in the Vedas -tvi, tva, toya, tya, and ya. Some Grammarians also mention -tumm, and tvinam; but these have nowhere been found in the Vedas available to us. In the Rig Veda in the greatest majority of cases (full two-thirds) the final of ya is long. (W.S.G. § 993.) In the Vedic dialects these gerunds expressed an action which accompanied or more often preceded that of the finite verb. (M.V.G. § 589.)
 - (2) Classical Sanskrit,—The suffixes of the conjunctive participle in classical Sanskrit were to and

ya the latter being used for compounded roots and the former for simple roots; ya became the after roots ending in short vowels.

- Note.—It will be noted that gerunds had not always a part signification.
- (C) Prakritic Corruptions.—The above suffixes underwent various modifications, changes and corruptions in the Prakrits.
- (a) the forms found in the Asoka Inscriptions have been dealt with in great detail in § 76-B above. They are in order of frequency tu, -ti, -ta, cha, -chya, -ya, ye. Of these -tu arises from -tua by the Sampraeāraņa of -va.

-ta also arises from -tea but the absorption of -ta in -t -ti is taken by Dr. Buhler to arise from the Vedic -tai by the absorption of -v, but M. Emile Senart would derive it from the by the Samprasāraņa of -ya. (Vide Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, page 13.)

-cha and -chya arise from -tya palatalisation. -ye arises from the Vedic ya,

These corrupt forms are attached to the roots by a connecting -i where necessary.

- (b) The Prākrita Prakāša of Vararuchi gives for
- Mahdrayfri; una (IV-23). This comes from -tuanam or -tuana through the following intermediate forms: tuna, dna and ana.
- Paiśāchī: -tunam (X-13) Examples: —dātunam 'having given', kātunam 'having done', gluttunam 'having taken'; this suffix arises from tvanam by the Sampreśāraņa of va.
- Māgadhī; -dani (XI-16) Examples:—sahidani 'having borne', karidani 'having done'.

- Saurajent: -is generally; and in addition jadus and kadus for the two roots gam and kri (XII-9-10) -is arises from the Vedic -ys and due from the Vedic -tvs.
- (c) The Prakrita Lakshanam of Chanda gives: -ttus--tta, cheha, -ttum, -tum, -ttu, -v, -ppi (II-19).

Cheha in the list appears to arise from -tya perhaps also from -tta preceded by -i or other palatal vowel; -ppi arises from Vedic -toi; -tuna arises from -tvana; and itum is merely -ttu with a final anusvāra.

Vandittu (van 'alone'); Chaittu (tyaj 'abandon') Janitta (jfiā 'know'); Thichcha (sthā 'stand') hochcha (bhū 'be'); Sunittu (fru 'hear') kinita (kri 'do'); Karisitta (krish 'drag or plough') pechcha (pre 'go or die')

These forms are very common in the canonical works of the Syetämbara Jains,

(d) Pallava Prakrita Inscriptions.—The forms in -tuna, -tuna and -tunam, occur in the Pallava grants discovered in the Telugu country.—

> atichhituna -atichchidya (?), atikshipya (?) Katuna, katunam, Kritvā natuna, natunam, jnātva.

Similar forms also occur in the Amraoti, Jaggayapet and Bhattiprolu inscriptions.

- (e) Siddhahëmachandram of Hemachandra gives:-
- Saurasēni; -ia, -duna; and gadua and kadua for the two special verbs and gam and kri—(IV -271-272)
- (2) Paišāchi -tunn Examples:—Gamutana, ramtuna, hasituna (iV -312)

(3) Apabhramsa.—i, -iu, -ivi, -avi, -eppi, -eppinu, -evi, and -evinu (IV-439-40). Here -i is what is left of -ya; it was originally -ia but the -a has been lost in course of time. (P.P.G. para, 594.)

The Apabhramsa referred to here is supposed to be the Nagara Apabhramsa, and the rules given have reference apparently to this dialect as it appears in literature. The Sauraseni referred to is apparently the traditional one of the old grammarians put into the mouths of inferior characters in dramas.

- (f) Pitchel.—The above lists contain the chief modifications of the -ktea suffix as given by the old Prakrit grammarians. A few of the more important of the other forms collected by Pischel from works in Prakrit and given in his Prakrit Grammar are subjoined:—
 - -ttanam arises from the -tvanam of the Vedas. It is common in the Jaina works in Ardhamāgadhi. (P.P.G. para 583.)
 - (2) -chchana, -chchanam; These forms appear to have arisen from an extension of the Vedic -tyajust as -ttana and ttanam have arisen from a lengthening of the form of -tva; -chchana, and -chchanam are common in the Jaina canonica) works. (P.P.G. pura 587.)
 - (3) Similarly yanam and yana have arisen by an extension of ya. These also are common in the Angas of the Svetämbara Jains and are probably confined to these works, (P.P.G. 592.)

A curious misapprehension appears to have arisen with reference to these forms. The -mm has apparently been regarded by grammarians as a separable participle, inserted for the purpost of imparting grace to words and phrases, i.e. for 'Vākyālankāra'; and that is apparently why the suffixes -ttaam, -ttaam, -chehanam, -chehana, -panam, and yana, have not been noted separately in Chanda's or Hemachandra's Grammar. As will be seen below the people have always regarded nam and na as integral parts of the suffixes.

Nore:—It will be seen that the rule of classical Sanskrit regarding the use of -tva and -ya is ignored in Prakrits: Mahārāshṭrī, for instance, uses -una for all roots, and Paiṣāchī -tunam.

- (D) Modern Aryan Vernaculars,—The suffixes used in the Modern Aryan vernaculars are,—H,G,G, 491; B,A,G, Vol. III, pp. 229-33;
 - Marathi: -- una from una of Mahārāshtrī which again is traceable to -tvana.
 - (2) Eastern Rajasthani; -- -u, -ne, arising from tvanamthe final -am of which becomes e.
 - (3) Gujarati:—i or -i-ns, the latter of which may be derived from -ya-nam (§ 182).
 - (4) Eastern Hindi e or i or quiescent.
 - (5) Western Hindi
 (6) Pumabi
 -i or quiescent.
 - (7) Sindhi +i or -e
 - (8) Naipali -4
 - (9) Oriva
 - (10) Bengali -iya

The forms in (4) to (10) are derived from the Vedic -ya through the Sauraseni -ia.

As has been stated in § 10 above through the habitual neglect of the final short vowels the conjunctive participles often assume the form of the bare stem and it has become necessary to strengthen them by derivatives from kri which take the forms Kari, kei, ke, ke, ku, ki. Other strengthening

suffixes met with are -kun, -kuna, -kune, etc. which are variously explained by scholars; the present writer thinks that these may be derived from krinu which becomes -kun in Prakrit and -kun in Paisachi and Persian. (§ 193 a.)

182. THE COLLOQUIAL PAST TENSES IN TELUCU IN ->4, -i and -€

- (a) The Aryan suffixes entering into the formation of these tenses are -ye and the and their corruptions -i, -chya, -ya, -chi, -si. The formation of these tenses is the backbone of the theories put forward in this book, and has been dealt with in detail in Chapter IX. It will be sufficient here to merely mention the main conclusions arrived at there.
 - (t) the verbal participles used as finite verbs in the beginning must have been formed in the Telugu area by suffixing on to consonantal and -chya to vowel bases (164). It is probable that the two vowel bases (164). It is probable that the was suffixed in the Tamil area to Tamil bases in a certain stage of the development of that language (§171); it is just possible that the Vedic -tya, not the Prakriti -chya, was originally used in the Telugu area also and that it subsequently became palatalized;
 - (2) -chya became 1ya after unaccented bases.
 - (3) The pronominalization of the participles produced the finite verbs -kofv@nu, nadachy@nau, chē sy@nu etc.
 - (4) The non-pronominalized tense forms of the third person -kof ya, nadachya, chë sya, become the finite verbs -koffe, nadache, chë se. (§ 164.)
 - (5) The forms not used as finite verbs became the conjunctive participles koffi, nadachi, chë si. (§164.)

- (6) Possibly the terminations -i, si, of the Aryan sigmatic acrists were used in parts of the Telugu area, giving rise to the pronominalised forms like koffiri, nadachiri, chësiri; also koffidi, nadachidi, chësidi as in the Beradi dialect. (§ 165.)
- (7) The accented and unaccented vowel bases were at the beginning of the Telugu period lengthened by the syllables -ehu and -su (yu) respectively, through a mistaken notion that the tense signs of these bases were -yu, -s, and -i, as in the case of consonantal bases. (§ 166-a.)
- (8) There was a special accent on the causative suffix -i which led to the doubling or nasalization of tenses coming after it, as in the suffixes and forms-inchchu, -inchu, -impu, -intu; a similar special accent being also the cause of the causative suffix chu. (§ 167.)
- (9) The necessary or optional rejection of the additional syllables -chu and -yu in some of the tenses and moods is a sufficient reason for presuming that these tenses and moods are Pre-Dravidian or pre-Telugu and for holding that the other tenses and moods have come into existence some time after the beginning of the Telugu period. The conversion of -yu into -yu in the latter tenses and moods appears to confirm this view, (§ 168-c.)
- (10) Since the beginning of the Telugu period the additional syllables -chu and -pu have been encroaching upon tenses and moods which did not originally belong to them; pu itself being in later times displaced by -chu except in a few causal stems. (§ 168-d.)

SEC. 183] THE TAMIL, MALAYALAM, AND KANARESE SUFFIX

- (11) The syllables -chu and -su in the causative suffixes -ichu, -isu of Kanarese have the same origin as the final syllable chu of the lengthened Telugu verbs.
- (12) It is possible that the suffix -tya was used in the Tamil area; it did not, however, produce any tense form but merely gave rise to a very large number of causal leases in -ttu and to the verbal noun suffix -tal which latter can now be employed to form the nomina extionis from any Tamil verbal base. (§ 171-2.)
- (b) In a paper entitled "The tense signs in Dravidian" sent to the Poona Oriental Conference of 1919, the present writer gave an alternative explanation that the Telugu formative syllable -chu and -su were probably modifications of the imperative second person singular endings -su and -su of Prakritic verbs. A fatal objection to this supposition is that the syllable -chu is rejected from the imperative second person singulars of certain classes of verbs ending in -chu and is replaced by -pu or -vu. The same objection is also fatal to Bishop Caldwell's supposition that chu is a corruption of -ku; for the predecessor of chu in old verbal forms is -pu, not -ku.

183. THE TAMIL, MALAYALAM, AND KANARESE SUPPLY -th (§95, 115, 122).

The similarity of this suffix to the Asokic conjunctive participle suffix -tu (-itu) of which it appears to be an imitation is too striking to be ignored. It is unnecessary to consider here the changes which the -t of this suffix undergoes in colloquial and vulgar speech and in combination with final consonants of bases.

In standard Kanarese the suffix appears as -du predominatingly with a connecting -i where necessary. In standard Tamil and Malayalam it becomes -ittu after accented bases generally and -du or -ndu after other bases. It also becomes -ndu after iru 'be', kida 'lie' and a number of other accented roots enumerated in §95-A above.

As remarked in §97 (e) the number of unaccented bases in which -tu appears as du in Tamil can be counted on one's fingers; in the vast majority of unaccented bases the suffix is found as -ndu which apparently corresponds to the -du of Kanarese as can be seen from the following words common to Tamil and Kanarese.

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Kanaresa

marundu 'medicine' nirundu 'feast' ulundu 'black gram' parundu 'a kite' porundu 'fit, unite'

marudu birdu, biddu urdu, uddu paddu, haddu produ, poddu

In the past tense forms konrān, venrān, kenrān, kondān, māndān etc. of kol 'kill', vel 'conquer', vel 'go', kol 'buy', māl 'die' etc. It is nd, not d, that masalises the final of the bases.

It is noteworthy that the accented roots iru, kida, nada, etc. should have conjunctive participles of the form irundu, kidandu, nadandu etc., instead of iruttu, kidattu and nadattu etc. These last are likely to be mistaken for the causal forms of the roots which also contain it and the nasalised -ndu is preferred probably to distinguish the conjunctive participles from the causals.

184. TELUGU-TAMIL SUFFIX INS (95 AND 134-d)

To trace the Telugu-Tamil past tense in -ina we shall begin with the consideration of the much younger Gujarati conjunctive participle suffix -i, -na, of which various explanations have been given at different times. The suffixes used in Gujarati are -1 -ne of which the former is, as we have seen (\$179 D) derived from the Vedic ya through Sauraseni -ia.

Some appear to have attempted to derive the latter from the Mahārāshtrī -u-na, but unsuccessfully (B.A.G. Vol. III, page 233). Sir G.A. Grierson appears to have thought that it was contracted form of -i -tans another Prakrit conjunctive participle suffix (L. S. IX, Part II, page 389) of which the latter part-tans he takes to be connected with the tana of Keratanau. In the old Western Rajasthani from which Gujarati is derived the conjunctive participle suffix is i-nai, and Dr. L. P. Tessitori, Udine, in his notes on the grammar of that Language (I.A. Vol. XLIV, pp. 105 and 119) is of opinion that Gujarati -i-ns is derived from i-nai of Western Rajasthan and that nai is a declensional post position, short for kanai (kanhai karnamin). He also rejects the usual explanation which derives the long i from the Apahhtamśa i of the Prakrit;

(1) 'Sambandhinah Karatanan' (Hem. IV, 422 20) 'Kara and tan are used to express connection,'

He thinks that both -i and -kmai are locative cases and that -i-nai (i-kanai) is a locative absolute.

The explanation given in this book differs from the explanations both of Sir G. A. Grierson and Dr. Tessitori.

The conjunctive participle suffixes janum and jan which occur in the religious works of the Jains furnish a solution of the difficulty; if we admit nam to be an integral part of the suffix janum as it has always been admitted to be of -tvanum and tunum, the whole difficulty disappears. If Eastern Rajasthani could produce -u-ne from -tvanum by Samprasāraņa of va and the elision of t we should not be surprised at modern Gujarati having arrived at -i-ne from junum by the Samprasā-

rana ya. Final am s is a common change. It is but natural that -i-us and other modified forms of yanam should be found now in use in Gujarat and the parts adjoining, for it was at the council of Vallabhi in 454 or 467 A.D. that the Svetāmbara-Ganon, as we now have it was fixed. (§76 e.)

We can conceive how these scriptures though in the main dating from the council of Pataliputra might have had to be recomposed in parts from time to time in the Aryan vernacular current in Gujarat which appears to have been the scene of Jaina activities for a considerable period. The originally separable particle nam if ti was separable had come to be incorporated with the suffix in popular speech. The following are a few instances of the use of yanam and yana in the Acaranga Sutta:—

- Ausanto samana tumam chevedam panagajatam padiggahena va-ussinchiyanam¹ vattiyanam ginhahi² (1; 7; 8).
- (2) Bikhupadiyas chhappena va dussena va valgana va aviliyana³ paripiliyana⁴ parisaiyana³ shattu dalaejja (2; 1; 8; 1).
- (3) Aggam cha mulam cha vigimcha dhire palickkindi yaxam* nikkammadamsi (1; 2; 1).

Some of the degenerated forms of -yanam and -yana now in use in Gujarati and the adjoining countries taken from the L.S. Vol. IX, Parts II and III are noted below:—

- (a) The language of the semi-civilized tribes of Eastern Broach: The suffix -n is usually added to the past tense (II p. 389). Rahyan 'we lived'; gayan 'we went' conjunctive participles ka-in 'having done', chod-in 'having left'. It is obvious that yan in the above examples is yana without the final a.
- (b) Ghisadi spoken by a tribe of blacksmiths who wander over Southern India: Jay-ina, hoy-ina, pad-ina, kay-ina. Some-

Utsichya, 2. apavartya, 3. apidya, 4. paripādya,
 pariesāniyana, parisrāvya, 6. parichehidya.

times the final a is dropped kar-in 'having done'. (II 453 at sec),

- (c) Nahikantha Bhili (II p. 13) Conjunctive participles pad-i, pad-in-ne, pad-in-ne,
- (d) The Dhar state Bhili (III p. 52) Conjunctive participle suffixes -1, -i-ne (i-na).
- (e) Raj-i-a Bhili (0.85) Conjunctive participle suffixes
- (f) Panchali (III t38) qut-i 'having divided; uch-iu-'having seen'; kur-in 'having done'.
 - (g) Khandesh Bhili (III p. 154) pad-i, uda-i,
 - (h) Nimar Bhili (III p. 174-5) kai -ina, Jaina
 - (i) Baori (III p. 183-4) kar-in, uth-in, chekkh-in

The above examples are enough to show in what directions -yanam and -yana, become modified in the language of the uncultured, and how the Tamil-Telugu tense in -ina could have been derived from these suffixes.

If in addition to -yanam and -yana we can assume a by form in -yan as in rahyam and gayam of Eastern Broach we get a form like the Telugu kof yan which can be used for all persons and numbers without personal endings. In the illustrations given in 160 c above -anyam and pilyam have become annema and palema in Telugu. Similarly, the suffix -yan in the forms kof yan, nadachyan etc., will become ena in Telugu and produce the forms kof tenu, nadachena etc. How faithfully has Telugu preserved the drutam here?

The non-pronominalised forms of the third person me.

koffe (§164) and koffenu thus arise from two different suffixes

ya and yan, and are independent of each other. It is
therefore unnecessary to explain as do the Telugu grammarians the origin of koffe by assuming that koffenu loses its-

final in popular speech. Of course, the form koffens might in popular speech lose its final and also become kotts.

The relative participles can be formed only with -ina in Telugu. In old Tamil they could be formed only with -iya but both the participle and the past tense are now formed only with -ing in spoken Tamil. The new Forms have penetrated into the literature of Malabar but they are unknown to the people's Malayalam which still forms its relative participles in -iya. It is assumed in this book that the past reuse in -inn is a late form as the suffixes chu and su are nor rejected in ina forms of nadachu, cheyu, etc. It may be argued on the other side that the tense may be regarded as formed with the suffixes -yana and -chyana the latter being suffixed to unextended roots like nada, che, etc. The use of -ina with the lengthened roots is not the only evidence of its modernness. We have also to take into consideration the late appearance of the suffixes yanam and yana in Prakrit literature, the absence of ing in Kanarese and Malayalam, and its partial and limited use on Old Tamil.

185. THE TELUGU SUPPLY II

As noted in §179 (a) above, there is a difference of opinion in regard to the original of the Asokic ti, Dr. Buhler suggesting the state of the Asokic ti, Dr. Buhler suggesting the while M. Emile Senart inclines to the However this may be, there seems to be little doubt that the Telugu past tense forms koffitini, koffitini, etc. contain this suffix. The forms of this tense as contained in the first specimen of the Beradi dialect of Telugu published in the Linguistic Survey of India (IV, 604) contain no prenominal endings. The original Telugu form must also have been of the type koffiti without personal endings, the final u of the ma being changed into i to secure harmonic sequence of vowels.

CHAPTER XI-B

ARYAN PRESENT PARTICIPLE SUFFIXES

185. ARYAN INDEGLINABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLES

The present participle i.s. the Satranta of the Sanskrit grammarians was always declined in Aryan literature so as to agree with the noun it qualifies in number, gender and case, and even when it forms the first member of a compound tense in modern Aryan vernaculars of the present participle is generally declined and agrees in gender and number with the subject of the verb. But this is not always so and whenever a new Aryan vernacular uses an indeclinable that is an adverbial present participle in the formation of its present tense the authors of the Linguistic Survey remark that this is due to the influence of the adjoining Dravidian languages which never inflect their participles.

As pointed out in § 46 however the use of the adverbial present participle was not unknown to the Old Aryan vernaculars and the Asoka inscriptions, the earliest specimens that we have of spoken Prakrit, furnish instances of the adverbial present participle.

Turce Neo-Aryan vernaculars, Gujarati, Marwari and Marathi also use adverbial present participles and Dr. L.P. Tessitori explains these forms as absolute plural genitives of present participles. (I.A. Vol. XLIV, p. 97.)

"The so called adverbial present participle", he says, "is formed by the inflecting into a the present participle. Thus from Karatau we have karata, from hutau huta. In the same way as present participles, adverbial participles too may optionally retain the deutal nasal when used in poetry.

I explain it as an absolute plural genitive contracted from Apabhramsa antaha or antaha**

The forms santam, anapatipajantam, kalantam, karatam, katam, occurring in the Asoka Inscriptions have all to be understood under this explanation as genitive plurals used absolutely; karatam is of course the genitive plural of karat in Prakrit corresponding to Karatam of classical Sanskrit and the first three of the above Asokic forms can also be described as genitive plurals if we overlook the superfluous nasal, as apparently Dr. Tessitori would. In any case, here are obvious case forms of present participles used adverbially which do not agree with the subject in number or gender and we have to accept the fact. Other forms that occur in Asoka's edicts are kalanta and kara.

One illustration of the use of such participles has already been given in § 76 B; two more are given below :—

Delhi Pillar Edict VIII (I.A. Vol. XVIII, page 301)

Heeam hi anupatipajantam hidatapalate
thus indeed following here below and in the next world aladhi heti
gain is.

"For by acting thus they gain (happiness) here below and in the next world,"

Separate Rock Edict II Dhauli (I.A. XIX, p. 96): Heram kalantam tubbe svagam aladhayisatha thus doing you heaven will obtain.

Those who wish to have more details about the use of these participles in the Asoka Inscriptions and how scholars have vainly and variously endeavoured by suitable commendations to make the participles agree with the qualified nouns may consult:—I.A. Vol. V. pp. 260, 277, Vol. X, p. 210, Vol. XVIII, pp. 301, 306, 307, Vol. XIX,

pp. 7, 46, 102. E.I. Vol. II pp. 252, 460. M. Emile Senart is inclined to regard them as accusative absolutes equivalent to nominative absolutes.

In Dr. Hoernles Grammar of the Gaudian Languages it is stated that in the evolution of the Aryan vernaculars of India "in the main a gradual alternations of the nasal has taken place. The nasal consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvara in Prakrit, and anunasika in Gaud, and finally drops off altogether". (H.G.G. 23.) In the examples given in illustration of this statement it often happens that when the anusvara becomes anunasika the preceding vowel is often lengthened. Tous, Sanskrit simha 'a lion', hamia 'a swan', chandra 'the moon', becomes sih, har, chad, in East Hindi.

Thus the Asokic participle karatum may have become karata which is the form of Dr. Tessitori's adverbial present participle and also karata by the ultimate dropping off the nasal sound. The form karata is also what we obtain by the equivalence of the final am -a which E. Senart has established. (76 B.c.)

It may be remarked in passing that the Sanskrit periphrastic future which has its roots in the Indo-Iranian period ahows that fifteen or twenty centuries before even the date of Asoka inscriptions the Asiatic Aryans were forming compound tenses, by affixing the first and the second persons of the verb substantive as or ah 'be' to an indeclinable form derived from the root to be conjugated (§47 above). In all countries the spoken vernaculars evince a tendency to drop unnecessary inflections to the influence of adjacent foreign idioms.

187. (a) THE TELUGU SUFFIX-la

This might have arisen by imitating the ending tam of Prakeit genitive plurals used adverbially in the Asoka inscriptions. In Emile Senart's analysis we saw that final am becomes -a. (76 B.e.) This lengthening of a wowel as compensation for the loss of a nasal is also deducible from colloquial Telugu where the suffix ta is mostly in use; for

koffinum, chëstun, gurramulu, became in colloquial speech, koffinë, chëstë, gurrëlu.

The old Kanarese suffix -uttam has become utta in modern times. With the equivalence am -a the Telugu colloquial present participle in -ta and the colloquial tense formed with this particle are brought into agreement with the Asokic adverbial present participles ending in tam. Examples—

Koffutam-Koffuta, cheyutam-cheguta, chesta.

These colloquial forms kottuta 'beating', chēstā 'doing', etc., it will be noted are strikingly similar in formation to the Hindustani forms used by the Madras Mussalmans e.g. Khata hai 'he is cating', sota hai 'he is sleeping' etc.

The Telugu suffix -cha used by certain religious Brahmans of the Northen Circars is supposed to be a corruption of -la.

As the suffix +ta occurs only in colloquial speech and is unknown to literature it is not possible to say whether it was borrowed as tam or ta.

(b) THE KANARESE SUFFIXES ula, ulta.

The original of these suffixes was apparently -ultam the compensatory lengthening of -a being due to the loss of the final nasal. Are the initial -u and the doubled -t radical? Neither of these occur in the forms in use in the Kanarese dialects which however preserve the tenual pronunciation of -t.

The pre-Dravidian -t of the past tense suffix generally became -d after Kanarese roots which had lost their accent. Is the doubled -t in the present case a device of the Jain cultivators of Kanarese to preserve the tenual pronunciation. of the -t of the present participle suffix, and was the initial -ue put in to prevent this -t from combining with finals of the roots? If so, the Kanarese suffixes are identical with the Telugu suffixes -tam and -ta already considered.

If, however, the initial -u and the doubled -t are taken to be essential elements of the suffix then we must seek for the original of -uttam in the languages which were contiguous to Kanarese in the pro-Kanarese period when it appears tohave been first adopted. The form hultan may be regarded as a Mahārāshtri tadbhava of the genitive plural-bhavatām of the participle bhavat; for apahutta is used in Saptasate (5-35) as a tabdhava of the present participle abrabhavan unable, incompetent'. If so, uttam (huttam) may be taken as an indeclinable. Aryan present participle used as an auxiliary to Kanarese bases just as the Aryan conjunctive participles ki, ke, ke, are used by Golari to form Dravidian conjunctive participles like mad-ke 'having made', ed-ki 'having run', tin-ku 'having eaten' (10-s). According to Dr. L.P. Tessitori in the old Western Rajasthani the indeclinable present participle hutaii (bhavantakam) of the auxiliary bhil 'be' is often added pleonastically after present participles used adjectively or absolutely; sometimes Karataii (karantakam) is so used. The participles hutaii is also used after participles used as adjectives. (I.A. XLIV, pp. 95-104.) Here hutaii which like huttam is an indeclinable present participle from bhu 'be' is used as an auxiliary in Aryan vernacular; the two uses are similar though uttam (huttam) is added to the bare root in Kanarese not to a participle.

188, THE TELUGU AND OLD TAMIL -t-avriet

Dr. Tessitori's examples of adverbial present participles are apparently taken from standard literature but in colloquial and rustic dialects we can find several other examples. of the indeclinable present participles besides the genitive plural.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable, originally ended in -ant and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination -at. Ghand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure to suit his metre as

bhajjan 'possessing' rajant 'shining' subhant 'being beautiful' chadhat 'mounting'

sunat 'hearing' sajant 'arraying' kathant 'being out'

Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form as jat 'going'; gunjat 'humming'; dhydvat 'meditating'; pavat 'finding'; bhavat 'being pleased'; gavat 'singing'.

The form is also common in most mediaeval poets; dharat 'placing'; padat 'falling'; sõhat 'being beautiful'; lasat 'appearing'; chahiyat 'looking'; jiyat 'living'; bandhat 'being bound'. It survives in all the dialects of the Eastern Hindi area in Oudh, Riwa and Bhojpuri and even in the Gangetic Doab' (B.A.G. Vol. III, pp.123-4). Two forms are observable in Murathi or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in -t, -tam, and -tamna as sutat, sutatam, sutatamna. The first of these agrees with Hindi B.A.G. Vol. III, p. 125.

In the Bhojapuri dialect of E set Hindi the present definite and the imperfect tenses are formed by affixing to the present participle -at in various persons of the verb substantive. Here the present participle does not change for number or gender. (L.S. Vol. V, Part II.)

There are also present participles in the Hindi area of the forms (H.G.G. 299):—

that 'eating'; det 'giving'; hot 'being'; rovat 'weeping'; pict 'drinking'.

The participles in the Telugu norist of vowel bases corresponding to marachu 'forget'; chēyu 'do'; koyu 'cut'; kuduchu 'drink', before these roots were lengthened by the suffixes -chu, and yu, must have been of the form marat, chat, kot, kudut; or with the enunciative final -u maratu, chetu, katu, kudutu. These last have apparently produced the forms:—

marachulu, chë yudumu, koyudusu, kuduchudru. So also in Old Tamil the forms:—

Kadattir 'you are crossing'; nadattum 'we shall walk'; μδτικ 'we are going'; are derived from the participles kadat, nadat, μδτ.

The Hindi and the neo-Aryan participles are formed with the Vedic-Avestic present participle suffix -at transmitted through the Prakrits. The Dravidian has apparently drawn from the same source which has been in existence at least since 2,500 B.C.

§189. THE ARYAN DECLINABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLES

(a) We saw in Ghapter III that the Dravidian languages have also imitated some of the terminations of the Indo-Iranian declinable participles. The termination of the crude form of Indo-Iranian Active Paramaipada present participle is usually taken to be -at, but the real termination is -ant of which the -at is Indo-Germanic and appears, for instance, in the English words 'solvent', 'adherent', 'dependent' etc. In declension, however, either n or t is rejected in most of the Indo-Iranian forms, -nt appearing only in the remaining few: in the Iranian language and the Prakrits both n and t are rejected in a few forms, and the declension is on the whole very irregular.

The correspondence between the terminations of the Tamil ann, Badaga and Old Kanarese ann, Tulu an, Kui sanju, Telugu and Gondi vandu, vardu, andu, on the one hand, and those of the Vedic bharm, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi baram, Avestic dravas, baras, Apabhrumsa hasanta, and the inference to be drawn therefrom, have been exhaustively dealt with in Chapter III above (§§49-53). It will be sufficient here to recapitulate the main results arrived at there.

The Dravidian singular termination -n was traceable to the Indo-Germanic -nt being an imitation of the final letter in the Sanskrit participle and possessive forms bharan 'bearing', bharishyan 'about to bear'.

Gunavan, 'possessing good qualities', buddhiman 'possessing intellect'; an originally indicated the Sanskrit grammatical masculine, neuter, and feminine as in the Tamil manidan 'a man', arasan 'a king', idan 'a place', mara: 'a tree', akkan 'elder sister', awan 'mother'. Subsequently, the final -a became generally restricted to the male sex and was replaced by other terminations in the remaining two sexes e.g. manidan, arasan, idam, maram, akka, awa, or awai.

The Telugu and Madras-Gondi -ndu, the Kuinju Badaga m which are masculine terminations, the feminine terminations of Tamil and Kanarese, -lu of Telugu, and km and di of Telugu, and the oblique suffix of neuter nouns in Tamil, are also traceable to the same Indo-Germanic -at.

(b) It might be objected that the Telugu masculine termination generally appears as -undu not as -andu which is the form corresponding to the Prakritic present participle termination -anto or -antu. True: but the Sanskrit masculine names ending in -a end mostly in -u in Apabhramśa (P.P.G. 363) from which they were adopted as -U stems in Telugu, and were being declined as such when the new masculine termination -ndu was added in the nominative case. c.f. Bulavyākaraṇamu, Tatsama-parichchēdamu, (Sutra 21) according to which the Sanskrit Pratipadikas Didda, Rāma, Bhūrghama,

and Rājapurusha, should appear as Diddu, Rāmu, Bhārgavu, and Rājapurushu in Telugu declension.

In Tamil also Dūta 'messenger', Amātya 'minister', Gōfa a proper name, Rāms 'a proper name' etc., sometimes appear Dūtu, Amachchu, Gōpu, Rāmu etc.

(c) It has also been suggested in § 152 above, but with some reserve, that the alternative form sente or sente of the Prakritic participial termination may have given rise to the Telugu participial termination sente in such words as chisicia 'which or who is doing'; kottēdu 'which or who is beating'.

These have alternative forms these, kette, in which the final du is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation. With the oblique declessional suffixes -i, -ti, these participles take the forms thesedi, kettedi, thesti, ketteti (§142).

In the Dāsari and Vadari dialects (§145-8) verbal nouns are formed by suffixing -du to the indefinite participles ending edu, e.g. udedi 'singing', ādedi 'dancing', pāda eddi 'singing' etc. In the former dialect the oblique form of the participle shows the suffix -ta e.g. tineta 'eating', undeta 'remaining',

(d) In old Tamil the future relative participle was of the type symana 'that will do', and there are several instances of forms containing this suffix, Ex. enmandr pulavar 'learned men say', molimandr 'they say' etc. and indicating the indefinite present (114 a-b). These arise probably from the imitation of the Aryan present participle suffix -mana. The suffix appears also as vana in some cases in Tamil literature.

CHAPTER XI-C ARYAN ABSTRACT NOUN SUFFIXES

190. (a) THE ARYAN SUPPLIES -toa AND -toana

These two suffixes, the latter of which is an extension of the former, are used in the Vedas and in later Sanskrit to form neuter abstract nouns and adjectives (M.V.G. 17, 218). Examples:

bhrātṛtva 'brotherhood', amṛitatvā 'immortality', sakhitcana 'friendship', rakshastva 'sorcery', kavitsana 'wisdom'.

Of these -trana becomes -ttana in Prakrit[‡], Examples:

plantanam 'fatness', m@dhattanam 'folly'. This -tiana has been adopted practically without change in cultivated Dravidian in the form -tanamu or -tanam.

Examples:

Telugis : chimatanami 'smallness'; peddatanami "greatness' Tamil : kettatanam 'badness'; nallatanam 'goodness' Kanarese : kelyatana 'friendship'; viratana 'valour'

(b) The Dravidian suffixes -pum and -pu (155-G). It has already been pointed out that in the Girnar inscriptions of Asoka the Sanskrit absolutive suffix -tva was written -tpa (§176); this peculiarity of promunciation extended also to other words in the inscription in which the conjunct consonant -tv occurred. e.g. Chatvāro became chatpāro.

This process carried a step further has converted all conjuncts -to into -pp in some dialects. Thus the suffix -to-ana

talteayör dattanau (Var. IV-22)—
 -da and -ttana are respectively substituted for the suffixes -tal and -tva.

forming abstract nouns and nouns of condition became -ppane in Sauraseni, and this form has been transmitted to all the neo-Aryan vernaculars where -ppu and -ppan are the suffixes of abstract nouns.

Examples:

motappa 'fatness', bālakappan 'childhood', guruppan 'heaviness' (H.G.G. 228-231); while the Vedic absolutive suffixes
-tvi and -tvinam have become -ppi and -ppin in the Apabhramśa
(P.P.G. 300, 588). From Mr. Beame's Grammar we
also learn that in Hindi and Sindhi, in addition to the terminations -pana, -panu, -pani, containing a and ai and
arising from -tvana, there are also abstract noun terminations
-pa, -po, -pp, -p, etc. which must have arisen from -tna and
-tvaka, and which show that -tna itself had become -ppa and
-pa (B.A.G. Vol. II, p. 75).

There are certain nouns of quality ending in -pu or -pum in Dravidian.

Telugu: telupu 'whiteness', erupu 'redness', parupu 'yellowness', nalupu 'blackness'

Tamil: of pam 'clearness' nut pam 'minuteness'; tif pam 'firmness', veluppu 'whiteness'; sivappu 'redness'

These terminations appear to be derived from the Vedic
-tea and -teans,

Kanarese having converted its -p's into-h's these suffixes do not occur in that language,

(e) The Dravidian suffixes -mi, -mai (§155-G). These occur as suffixes of abstract nouns and appear to be only different forms of the suffixes mentioned in (b) above, and to have also arisen from the Aryan suffix -log.

'Tamil: perumai 'greatness'; venmai 'whiteness'; kūrmai 'sharpness'

Telugu: perimi 'greatness'; magatimi 'manliness'

It is noteworthy that the change of -p to -m in the abstract noun suffixes occurs in Bengali and Oriya where mi or omi occur side by side with, and more frequently than, pan, pan etc.

luchami 'profligacy', chadami 'roguery', dhilami 'lavgeness' (H,G,G, 230).

The Tamil mai may also be compared with the ending mā of the Sanskrit words,

animā 'minuteness'; mahimā 'largeness';

garimā 'heaviness'; laghimā 'lightness' as the final of Sanskrit words is usually pronounced ai in Tamil, e.g. makimai 'greatness', 'mālai' etc. for the Sanskrit mahimā, mālā etc.

CHAPTER XI-D

THE ARYAN VERB-FORMS

kri, krinu, and grihna

§191. Kri IN THE ARYAN LANGUAGES

(a) The Vedas: The practice of using kri as an auxiliary to other verbs is as old as the Vedas in Sanskrit.

The earliest use of kri in this manner occurs in the periphrastic perfect, as in vidam chakāra 'he learnt', vidam chakruh 'they learnt' etc., where the various persons of the perfect of kri were made to govern the accusative of a noun form derived from the root conjugated. But forms other than the perfect of kri have also been in use as auxiliaries even from very early times (W.G.G. 1091-4).

> svadaha karôti Sritam kritya syēti akuruta

vashat kuryāt naganam kritya krūrī kurvanti

(b) Modern Aryan Vernaculars: As pointed out in §-c above, in the Aryan vernaculars of the north, kri is very largely used as an auxiliary in forming conjunctive participles. The ferms it takes in Hindi are kari, kar, karka, and karkar; ke which arises from kari is used in the Hindi rustic dialects (B.A.G. Vol. III p. 231). Other derivatives from kri used for the purpose in the modern Aryan vernaculars of India arc ki, ku, ko.

In Eastern Rajasthani which uses &ar in verbal participles the initial k of the suffix is elided as in unaccented Tamil coots (H.G.G. 491) Thus in the broken dialects of the Dangs the following contracted forms occur:— lair, uthir, dēkhar, ār, jār, karar, hōr, for the following forms laikar 'having taken', uthikar 'having risen', dēkhkar 'having seen', ākar 'having come', jākar 'having gone', karikar 'having done', hōkar 'having been' (L.S. Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 346 and 309). Alternative forms like bōlar, bōlarkai, bōlarkan, bōlarkain, occur in some of these dialects (p. 343 ibid). This shows that the strengthening additions are some times duplicated kar, karkai, karkan, karkain,

The auxiliary also enters largely in the formation of verbal participles in Marwari, Punjahi, and Braja. (I-A Vol. XLIV 105); and in most other Hindi dialects.

In Oriya which has the conjunctive participle with kerias in dēkhikari 'having seen', kari- is often pronounced kiriin common speech (B.A.G. Vol. III, p. 232).

§192. Lei IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

(a) One of the suggestions in this book is that kim the suffix of the present tense in Tamil is nothing but the Sanskrit root kri 'do'. When one has to deal with an unfamiliar verb, one generally combines it with a familiar verb meaning 'do', and this is what we should expect Northerners tohave done with Dravidian Verbs.

are 'I do run', 'I do walk', in English, but in the inverse order 'Run do I' and 'Walk do I' are the exact renderings of the Tamii forms. English knowing Indians, especially school boys, often indulge in such hybrid formations when speaking in their vernaculars:—

Tamil:	enda	- varusham	pass soyday?
English:	what	year(in)	pass you did?
Tamil:	avanai	dismiss	seyduvittärkal
English:	him	diamiss	they have done.

(b) The suggestion that the Tamil kin is the same as the Sanskrit kri 'do' is not a new one, but was made moer than fifty years ago by the late Rev. D. G. U. Pope in certain grammatical notes of the Toda language appended to Golonel Marshall's book entitled 'A Phrembogist among the Todas', But Bishop Galdwell and those belonging to his school who believed that the Dravidian languages had attained their development long before the arrival of the Aryans in India simply ignored the suggestion. Bishop Galdwell's view is that him is merely another form of kinn, and in regard to the latter he appears to accept the derivation given by Drs. Kittel and Graul, viz. that the suffix is made up of ku a future sign, and intu meaning 'today', or 'now' (G.D.G. p-385).

Some varieties of Kaikadi and Burgandi, two of the dialects dealt with in §§ 104, 105, have forms of the verb substantive like kirs, kiri, 'I am'; thir 'he is'; chiru 'they are'; sire 'I am', and sir 'he is'; etc. Dr. Sten Konow appears to take the bases of these forms niz. kir, sir, to be the verb substantive kir being the oldest, and considers that the Tamil present tense nudakkirên contains this verb substantive (L.S. Vol. IV. p. 296).

As stated in §99 a, above, the true explanation of the Burgandi and Kaikadi forms is that, as in the Madras vulgar Tamil, they arise through successive contractions ikuān, kirān, of the standard form irukkirān; this explanation receives support from the existence of the intermediate forms igaris igara, igara, etc. in Kaikadi (§107).

(c) The suffix kigu as a present tense sign is not of old standing in any of the Dravidian languages. The only members of that group in which it is used are Tamil, and the dialects thereof spoken by Tamil tribes now settled in Dakhan, in which the suffix appears as, gar, kar, or kir (L.S. Vol. IV- pp. 318-47). The Kurmis of Dravidian stock settled in Manbhum and Kharsawan also use kri as an auxiliary:—shabekeris 'existing thou doest'; that is, 'you are' (L.S. Vol. V. part ii-p. 147). When it is remembered that the auxiliary is unknown to Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam, and also to Old Tamil, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that it is a late immigrant from the north.

(d) The various derivatives from the Sanskrit kni or kingu which are used in the Dravidian languages and which are noted in succeeding articles are:—

The formative syllable ku (§193) the non-reflexive auxiliaries kun, konu, kal (§195 c §196 c), the present tense suffixes kintu, kuntu, kunnu, (§196 d) perhaps the Telugu present suffix chun (§197 c), the suffixes kadava, kala, the permissive imperative suffixes kattu, kattum, katta (§203 a), and the benedictive suffixes ka, ge, ke, kke (§203 b).

193. THE DRAVIDIAN FORMATIVE SYLLABLE (§147-9) ku—HINDI ANALOGIES

(a) In colloquial speech the i of kigu is pronounced most indistinctly i.e. as if the words &dukigen, nadakkigen, were &dukagen nadakkagen. Two of the roots one most frequently hears in Tamil colloquial speech are the auxiliaries iru 'be', kida 'be', 'lie uncared for'. In the present tense suffix was only ku; the third person neuter is irukku, kidakku (§99 b above). Such contractions of kigu to ku occur also after other accented roots; whether accented or unaccented the third person neuter has only ku in the speech of the uneducated classes; e.g., &kudu, pōkudu, varukudu, nadakkudu, as if the non-pronominalised forms were &ku, pōku, varuku, nadakku. This change of kigu (Sanskrit kri) to ku in modern times raises the presumption that the formative suffix ku of the pro-ethnic period which now forms the final syllable of many roots in the cultivated Dravidian languages has also arisen from kri.

SEC. 194] THE DRAVIDIAN REFLEXIVE AUXILIARIES

(b) Dr. Hoernle mentions several cases of compound roots in Hindi where an auxiliary kri has dwindled into an affix -k (H.G.G. -p. 353). Hoernle's examples are:—

	Hindi		Sanskrit
i.	plink 'blow'	from	sphut 'blow, blossom'
2.	bukk 'bark'	37	bril 'say, call'
3-	(alternatively)	- 17	rad 'speak'
100	dhakkn 'destroy'	(22)	dhvams 'destroy'
5.	phakk 'swell'	(3)	sphat 'expand'
6.	chikk 'pain'	199	chrit 'hurt'
7.	tank 'bind'	(9)	tanch 'contract'
8,	bahak 'stray'	- 20	bahis 'outside'
9.	uchak 'be raised'	99	uchcha 'high'
10,	kasak 'pain'	22	kash 'injure'
11,	rok 'hinder'	**	obstruct'
12.	chuk 'cease'	99.	chyut 'ceasing', chyn
13.	chansk 'glitter'		chamatkri 'be clever, show off',

What has happened in modern times may have taken place in the past. The Dravidian -ku, it will be noted, is merely an affixed k as in Hindi, but with an enunciative u added.

The modern Tamil suffix -kigu is a recent horrowing of the same kri which had become ku in the pro-ethnic period.

§191. The Dravidian replexive auxiliaries kol and kone traceable to the Sanskrit glub.

(a) There are several circumstances which led to the presumption that the auxiliaries, Tamil kol, and Telugukona, are travable to the Sanskrit stem gribua. The vowel ri of Sanskrit is more or less artificial, and takes various forms in popular speech. Even in classical Sanskrit it became at, it, and ur! as in the forms karôti 'he does', chikirshati 'he wishes to do', kuruta 'do', which the root kri 'do' takes in various tenses, and we saw that in the Dravidian languages the Sanskrit kri took the forms kir, gar, gar,

These changes of kri are also exemplified by the modification which the root grih 'take, accept' undergoes. This root becomes ghe and its conjugational stem grims becomes gher in Prakrit*. Other modifications which this stem underwent in popular speech were apparently ghin, ghun and ghrin, which have been re-adopted in classical Sanskrit*. These forms illustrate another phonetic law in Sanskrit, viz., that when the aspirate h is lost in one part of a verb it sometimes appears in another part as compensation *.

The root glass 'revolve', 'whirl round', seems to be the Prakrit form of glass having the same meaning and has been re-adopted in Sanskrit.

The two roots ghun derived from gribs and ghurn belong to the bhu class of Sanskrit roots, and take the forms ghun in conjugational tenses, and the second of them meaning 'revolve' 'whirl round' is changed into ghal in Prakrit (6), I replacing the final n of ghus.

(b) The reflexive use of kof and konu may be illustrated as follows:—

t. 'ur an raparah' 'The forms ar, ir, ar, often take the place of ri Pāṇini).

^{2.} Vararuchi VIII 15-16.

^{3.} ghini, ghuai, ghriai, grahane (D.P.) "the roots ghin, ghun, ghrin, have the meaning 'taking' or 'accepting"

⁴ Thus in the im-

- Tamil (1) edu 'take', eduttu-k-kel 'take for yourself'
 - (2) talayiladi *strike on the head* talayiladittu-k-kol *strike yourself on your head*.

'Telugu-kottu 'strike', kottuko (kottu-konu) 'strike yourself'

(c) Deavidian collexive auxiliaries kel and kome.

But there is another class of idioms containing participles from kel and kenn which have no reflexive force. We saw in \$100 f above, that in Tamil conjunctive participles are often used in the sense of present participles and that to avoid ambiguity the participle kondu is added to impart a continuative force.

Similarly in Telogu, it is generally supposed that in all such phrases as shësi-koni 'doing', shilchukonfu 'seeing' etc., it is the reflexive auxiliary that is in use. The grammarian has, however, seen that konu imparts no reflexive force to the verb in some cases, and takes konu to be a mere świrthu auxiliary in such cases as pandu-koni 'lying down' (G.B. verse 108). It is also noticeable that in colloquial speech konu is often pronounced kun.

In these and similar cases, the auxiliary used does not seem to be related to the Sanskrit ghun (grihna) but appears to be derived from the Vedic krinu.

- §195. THE VEDIC RRINU AND THE DRAVIDIAN KUN, KONU, KOL, KINRU, KUNRU, KUNNU.
- (a) Prākkrit kun and Paišāchi kun. The root kri is used in the Vedas generally as kriņu with the class sign nu added, and kriņu becomes kuņu which is extensively used in literary Prakrit poetry¹, kar being used in colloquial speeches like Sauresēni

^{1.} Krinah kuno vā (Vararuchi VIII-13) kuno is optionally used for the root kri . e.g. kunai or karai 'he does'

In the Paisachi dialect which substitutes n for n, kun becomes kun (2).

The Avestic krinu has also become kun in Modern Persian.

These roots kan, kan, are inflected in the languages concerned as roots of the a conjugation:

(b) Tamil and Telugu auxiliaries km (§113 d). The Paiśāchi form km appears to have found its way as an auxiliary werb into Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu. In old Tamil it was extensively used in the formation of the nominal agent where modern Tamil uses kigu:—

minpidikkumar	"fishermen"	mInpidikkiravar
vizkunar	'sullers'	virkiravar
parunar	comers*	varukir avar
ikalunar	'despisers'	ikalkigavar
udahmar	'fighters' (enemies)	udalkiz avar 2

It has been pointed out in §192 (c) that the non-reflexive auxiliaries — Tamil kol, and Telugu kon—should be derived from the Vedic krips.

It will have been seen from \$10-b that Gondi strengthens its conjunctive participles by the addition of kim which, the editors of the Linguistic Survey think, is borrowed from Aryan; and it has been pointed out in § 148 that in the Telugu dialect Vadari conjunctive participles and finite verbs are often strengthened by participles, kinya, kosi, kom, derived from an auxiliary of the forms kin, kon, km, though the verb thus strengthened in not used reflexively. These facts are best explained on the supposition that just as the Aryan vernaculars of the North

no nah (Vararuchi X-5) "in the Paiśāchi language n becomes n"

^{2.} In the last three examples ku is elided after unaccented roots.

strengthen their participles by other participles derived from Saurasëni kar, the Dravidian languages use participles derived from the Paisachi kan for a similar purpose.

(c) Indo-Aryan particles kan, kne, kane.

It has been stated (Kellog) that certain rustic dialects in the Hindi area use the suffix kne to form present participles. Eastern Rajasthani uses kane to form conjunctive participles. Newari kne and Naipali kan e.g. gari-kan 'having done', khai-kan 'having caten', ban-kan 'having sat' (H.G.G. 491). These suffixes are very similar to the Dravidian suffixes above, and are possibly derived from the Vedic krifu which as shown above, might take the forms kan, kin, and kun. Compare the Hindi continuative particle -kne with the particle of almost 'identical form in vulgar 'Tamil': vān pārtu-knē nandēn—'I looking came' i.e., 'I was looking as I came. Here kne is usually supposed to be corrupt for konde, -kmdu s.

This is not, however, the explanation given by some scholars who have drawn attention to the existence of those forms vide § 198 below.

196. (2) TAMIL MALAYALAM SUPPIXES kingu, kunnu, kunnu (§ 196 a AND 195).

The Malayalam present tense suffix kumu was kingu formerly (14). The suffix kingu is the present tense sign of literary Tamil. We have seen that this suffix was rare in Sangam works, and that there were only a few instances in Old Tamil of its being used in the formation of adverbial present participles (III.f) Two of the instances are nidukingu öngiya 'that grew up lengthening ', kulavi alukingu,' a child crying'—'a child when crying'.

In colloquial and vulgar Tamil ny is pronounced nd and the literary kingu pronounced kindu and confounded with kondu the past verbal participle of the reflexive auxiliary kol is in use in such phrases as tungi-k-kondu-irukkingan 'he is sleeping; adi-k-kondu-irukirarkal 'they are playing'.

Kungu and kingu are apparently identical. Their first syllables kun and kin being Prakritic adaptations of the Vedic krigu 'do'; but what is the second syllable gu? This evidently arises from a suffix tu the initial t of which is changed to g when combining with n; and the affinities of kingu and kondu will be evident when the following sentences are compared:—

Tamil : āḍi-k-koṇḍu irundārkaļ Telugu : āḍu-kuntu undīri Kanayese : āḍ-kunta iddaru

The Kanarese form is taken from a specimen of the Kurumvāri dialect given at page 399 of Volume IV of L.S.I. but \$64-kunfa\$ is really a Telugu form. In all the three cases the participles have a continuous sense and have no reflexive force; the bases of these suffixes must be derived from krinu not from ghun or ghol. The final in of the suffixes kingu and kunfu is probably the acrist sign of the pro-Dravidian period, this sign is not now added directly to the root as in nadattum 'we walk', nadattir 'you walk', of Old Tamil, but to the auxiliary kin 'do', which is suffixed to the root as in the nadakkingir 'you walk'.

197. TELUGU PRESENT TENSE SUFFIXES -chun AND -tun (\$136a)

(a) These suffixes are drutaprakritakes, and there is no doubt that chun and tun are the real forms, though they are written sometimes as chu and tu without the drutam, or as chunnu and tunnu as if the conjunction nu were added. One of the explanations given of chun is that it is a corruption of the Malayalam kunnu; but kunnu is only a modern form, the original of which was kunru (§117) and this would correspond to chundu in Telugu, not chun.

It is highly problematical whether ku would palatalise into -chu after Telugu u bases; if this be possible, we can compare -chun with the sourch auxiliary kan which was also employed largely in the formation of the nomina agent in Old Tamil.

It is also doubtful whether the suffix -tun can be derived from the grammatical -chun. The tendency to change is just the other way and we assumed in §187 a that the suffix to of the Telugu colloquial present tense becomes changed to chu in the speech of certain religious Brahmans.

Can -tun be derived from the Paisachi conjunctive participle suffix -tuna employed in the Prakritic inscriptions in the Telugu area? (§181). The Aryan gerundial suffixes had not always a past signification and often expressed an action which accompanied that of the principal or finite verb (§§ 164, 181). They might impart a present signification to participles as sometimes in Tamil;

nadandu varukirān 'he comes walking' ārrai nīndi -k-kada-k-kirān 'he crosses the river swimming'

(b) Bishop Caldwell thought that tunnu and rhunnu were made up of chu plus unus and tu plus unus, -tunnu being understood by him to be a participle of the verb substantive undu 'be'; he was also of opinion that the first part -u of -tunnu, the t of the Telugu aorist and -tu the present participle suffix of Kanarese were originally identical (C.D.G. p. 382). The suffix -tun is as was pointed out in Chapter X (170 h c) a late adoption while the -t of the Telugu aorist belongs to the pro-Dravidian period. Similarly, the Kanarese present participle suffixes were probably adopted for the first time by Jain cultivators of Kanarese in the post-Christian centuries. Their initial u and double tt supposing these to be radical, show them to be connected with some such Aryan form as huttam (bhavatām) (§187 b). These considerations seem to be fatal to Bishop Caldwell's theory.

(c) The suffix tun is not likely to have arisen from a previous -chun. Further in the forms tu and tu, it is so widely spread in the Telugu Districts and so deeply rooted in the speech of the common people, that it must be regarded as an independent suffix perhaps derived from the Paiśāchi-tun of the Prakritic inscriptions. The suffix -chun is perhaps a palatalised form of the Paiśāchi-kun.

CHAPTER XI-E

§198. ARYAN GERUNDIVE, IMPERATIVE, INFINITIVE VERBAL-NOUN SUFFIXES.

Final n in Telugu often corresponds to l in Tamil (including Malayalam and Kanarese).

As one goes through the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India one is struck with the frequently recurring remark that the infinitive has the same form as the future passive participle. This is so in Naipali, Kumauni, Rambani, Poguli, to quote only a few of the very many instances that have been noticed. Even where the forms are not absolutely identical they are nearly so, having been derived from the same verbal formations. Another point that may be noted here is the absolute identity of the infinitive and the verbal noun in many languages; for the infinitive is only a case form of the verbal noun. The gerundive is also often the base of the future tense and may be used as an imperative.

These observations apply almost verbatim to the cultivated Dravidian languages, but before developing these points we shall draw attention to certain correspondences in these languages:

	Telugu	Kanarese	Tamil
verbal base	cheyu	geyyu	sey
imperative	cheyani	geyyali	seyal
infinitive	{ cheyan cheya	geyyal geyya	seyal (O. Tamil)
verbal noun	cheyan	geyyal	seyal
subjunctives	{chestin(i)-ani chesin-an chesin-a		seydên-êl seyd-ûl sey-in sey-il

Compare also Telugu-Tamil couplets -

Chanu 'go' sel

konu 'buy' kal

'accept'

tannu 'push aside', tuffu.

In Telugu verbal noun from kom is kolu,

The above examples bring out that a final n of particles and words in Telugu often corresponds to l in Tamil and Kanarese, and that in all these languages the infinitive loses its final consonant and has an alternative form ending in a.

In Tamil itself there are several instances in which the final of participles may be a or I --

- (i) the old instrumental locative suffix an is now al.
- (ii) one of the old locative suffices in is now in or il.
- (iii) one of the subjunctive suffixes is in or il.
- (ii) The word mēl 'above' appears us mēn in Tolkāppiyam.
- (v) out 'hard', and met 'soft', have also the forms now and men.
- (vi) One of the verb endings in the first person singular is either an or al.

of also table showing correspondence of finals in §91.

Outside the Dravidian area the inter-change of l and π is common in many of the Bhilli dialects dealt with in Vol. IX Part III of the L.S. of India (pp. 3-4) as in the Bhilli of Kapipla (p.84), the Naikadi, of Panchmahals and Surat (pp. 91 and 93), Gamati (p. 119), Ranawat (pp. 142-4).

\$199. ARYAN GERUNDIVE SUFFIXES -tva, -ya, aniya, tavya,

Asyan gorundives: Gerundives were generally formed in the Avesta by suffixing -thuo, thuoja (changeable to ton and topa after 3 and 3), tya, ata, or sometimes to or ya. These suffixes imply that the action which the verb expresses 'must be done', 'is allowed', or 'deserves to be done' (K.A.G. 565): Examples:—

Karshya 'fit for cultivation'; gathuya 'what ought to be sung', yazata 'fit for adoration'

In Sanskrit gerundives are ordinarily and regularly formed with the suffixes -ya, tanya, aniya. Derivatives in -ya having a gerundival sense were being made in all periods of the language from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin. Some of the other formations of a kindred kind found in the Vedas are ya, or toa, and enia or enya (W.S.G. 962, 968).

Exam ples:-

yudhënya "to be praised" 'to be combated' navya 30dhya 'to be fought' saparyenya 'to be adored' 'to be done' kartrā 'to be done' kartavya hanted 'to be sluin' \$ro tavya 'to be heard' 'to be avoided' varjani ya manantya 'to be contemplated'

(The examples for ye, enye, and -the are taken from A.A. Macdonell's Vedic Grammus 578-581).

§200. The Sanskrit -aniya giving rise to the Dravidian -ani, -an, -admu, -du, -udu, -elun.

The Sanskrit anipa. This suffix has given rise to a large number of suffixes used in the Aryan vernaculars of the north to form future participles both active and passive, verbal nouns, and infinitives. Anya became ania, anaa in Prakrit. The last of these has become and (feminine ani) in East Hindi and some other languages, and is used to form declinable future passive participles and verbal nouns both of action and of agency over a large area. There are also terminations -an -an similarly used. (H.G.G. 315-21; B.A.G. Vol. III pp. 236-8) Mr. Beames mentions a suffix an derived from the Sanskrit verbal noun suffix -ana which was formerly used to form infinitives over a large area. An still survives in Kamiji (ibid p. 236), Specimens given in the Linguistic Survey Vol. IX, Part I, show that this suffix also survives in Musalmani (p.61), Antarbedi (p. 81), Bundeli (p. 93) and elsewhere.

(i) Gerundives and verbal nouns in East Hindi (H.G.G. 317-19)

de 'give' -den, dena, or deni 'what is to be given', 'a debt' to 'take', -len, lena, leni 'what is to be taken, a receipt' len den 'intercourse, traffic'

baj 'be played' bajan, bajana 'what is to be played, a musical instrument.

odh 'put on, wear' -odhana, obdhani 'what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet'

kud 'leap' -kudan 'leaping'

dal 'move' -dalan, dalani 'movement'

kah 'speak' -kahan- kahani 'speaking'

kar 'do' karan, karani 'action'

rah 'remain, live' -rahan, rahani 'existence, living' sun 'hear', sunan, sunani 'hearing'

(ii) Obsolete forms of the infinitive from Old Western Hindi literature (B.A.G. Vol. III p. 236)

bandhan 'to stop'; chalan 'to go'; juran 'to join'; ian 'to go'; dekhan 'to see' These indeclinable infinitives still survive in Kanuaji, Musalmani etc. Vids also Linguistic Survey references noted above.

The above examples indicate in what directions the original gerundival suffix -aniya and the verbal noun suffix an of Sanskrit have become corrupted. Even apart from the forms current in the Modern Aryan vernaculars we could have inferred that -aniya and -ana would have become -ani(y) and an in popular speech which generally elides the final short vowels. (§ 90).

(a) Telugu sani (§ 140 b). The Aryan suffix saniya must have become ani as in pani 'that ought to be drunk'. It is suggested here that the suffix in the Telugu forms poni 'let (it) go", rani 'let (it) come', vādu chēyani 'let him do it' is an imitation of the Aryan gerundive suffix which in some areas is used to form politer imperatives (Cf. L.S. Vol. IX Part IV, pp. 34, 470). These Telugu forms are usually construed as if compounded of the infinitive or verbal nouns ran, ponechyan, and the root i or ichchu 'give' and another form runiva du ' he will not allow (it) to come' is formed from it on this supposition.

The corresponding Kanarese imperatives gegral; in the singular and gegralism in the plural are not thus construed (§ 127 b). The Tamil imperative sepal has the same form as the verbal noun sepal (§ 196) and appears to have been formed in a manner similar to the shorter Hindi forms which are both gerundives and verbal nouns but with this difference that the Aryan final n becomes lin Tamil. Thus the Kanarese and Tamil forms do not support the construction usually put on the final i of chromi, kuttani etc. The suffix ani in these imperatives appears to be merely an imitation of the Aryan aniya or ani.

CHAPTER XII

§216. THE CURRENT DRAVIDIAN THEORY HAS THE SUPPORT OF A CONTINUOUS TRADITION OF OVER EIGHTEEN CENTURIES

What is then the explanation of the theory now almost universally accepted that the Dravidian languages have noradical and deep seated affinities with Sanskrit, a theory which has behind it the support of a continuous tradition of over eighteen centuries? The original stock of Indo-Arvan words which the pre-historic immigrants from the North-West must have brought with them appears to have undergone a process of gradual deterioration in South Indian months. The causes that tended to this deterioration have already been exemplified above. The foremost of them was the extremely limited number of consonantal sounds to be found in South Indian speeches which were even fewer than the sounds to be found in the rudest of Arvan dialects like the Chalika Paistichika mentioned by Prakrit grammarians. The second was the change from the Indo-Aryan system of varied accents. to the South Indian monotony under which the highest stress. was on the first syllable of each word and the pitch gradually decreased in the succeeding syllables; this naturally led to the loss or deterioration of all syllables in a word except the first or the first two, and also to a change the first vowel of each word. A third was the entire absence of sibilants in South Indian speeches, and the consequent deterioration and final omission of all sibilants from Indo-Aryan words. A fourth was the South Indian habit of pronouncing noninitial single k and p, and initial and non-initial single th, as spirants. This has led to the complete loss of non-initial k and ch in a very large number of words and to the conversion of non-initial p into v in almost all words. Another cause was the inability of South Indians to pronounce an initial

r, l, y which has led to the insertion of an initial on-glide or the substitution of other letters in the place of the first two and the entire omission or naralisation of the last. A similar inability to pronounce a final t, r and t, has led to the conversion of these sounds into l, v, l, v, l. Owing to the steady operation of these causes, it must in course of time have become impossible to see any connection between these altered words and the speech of the northern Aryans. More important than all these was the difference in grammatical structure and syntax; while the Aryan speeches were highly synthetic, the Southern idioms arising out of their debris were mainly analytical, with a tendency to become agglutinative again.

All but the memory of the pre-historic Aryan immigration under the leadership of Agastya had been lost by the beginning of the Christian era, and the original stock of Indo-Aryan words brought by the immigrants having been altered beyond all recognition in the speech of the South Indians it came to be tacitly assumed-when attention was first directed to the materials and structure of South Indian idioms-that this altered vocabulary was part of the indigenous speech of the land except in regard to recent obvious borrowings from Sanskrit, and that the immigrants had forgotten their mother tongue and had adopted the language of the land in its stead. Kumārila Bhatta (7th Century A.D.) refers, in his Tanteavārtika, to the South Indian languages as Drāvidādi Bhāshā evidently under the impression that these languages were foreign to Sanskrit, and he had no idea that the basic portion of the vocabularies of these languages and the suffixial elements entering into the composition of their verb-forms had been borrowed from the Vedic idioms, or from Sanskrit. In fact he mentions with disapproval the attempts of certain contemporary writers to adopt words from these non-Aryan languages into Sanskrit after giving them an Aryan shape by means of suitable affixes.

Earlier than this (during the Sangam period which was a time of great literary activity in the Tamil land) nobody appears to have thought that the Tamil language was in any way indebted to Sanskrit except of course in regard to obvious loan words and easily recognisable Sanskrit derivatives. These words and derivatives were placed in a special class as of Sanskrit origin. And as time passed, the theory that Tamil was a distinct language gained further strength, and was incorporated in the Puranas and other sacred writings.

From the very beginning, owing to the increasing needs of a progressive civilization and to the requirements of a rapidly developing philosophy and religious system, the tatsama and the semi-tatsama Sanskrit element in the South Indian vocabularies has been steadily increasing, and it now occupies considerably more than half their volume. During the middle of the last century, certain orientalists, perceiving the very large number of obvious Sanskrit derivatives in these vocabularies, started a theory that the Dravidian languages were descended from Sanskrit like the Aryan vernaculars of northern India, but the theory was very short-lived, and was abandoned after the publication of Bishop Galdwell's Dravidian Grammar.

§ 217. THE CURRENT DRAVIDIAN THEORY REQUIRES RECONSIDERATION.

The aim of the present book is to secure a reconsideration of the current theory of Dravidian Languages on the ground that the theory is based on a mis-apprehension of the real facts of the situation, and is supported by assumptions some of which can be easily disproved. A complete treatment of the question requires an investigation of the subject under the three heads, vocabulary, nominal declension, and verbal inflexions. The vocabulary of the Tamil language alone consists of about fifty or sixty thousand words. Omit-

SEC. 217] THE CURRENT DRAVIDIAN THEORY REQUIRES....

ting obvious Sanskrit derivatives, the ultimate roots to which the remainder can be reduced must be at least a thousand, and having regard to the fact that a very large number of roots will require detailed individual investigation, it will be impossible to investigate the affinities of all the Dravidian roots within the limits of a single volume, or even of two. It was in consequence of this that the scope of the present work was limited to the consideration of tense and mood signs which are limited in number and belong to the fundamental structure of the languages. If these signs could be proved to be of Aryan origin, it would necessarily follow that the original languages of South India must have been under the influence of Aryan languages from very early times. The present state of the Dravidian question is such that we are unable to discuss the origin of these tense and mood signs without previously disposing of a large number of misconceptions and untenable theories about Dravidian languages and Dravidian culture, which have come into existence since the publication of Bishop Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar in 1856. It has thus come about that discussion of these and similar subsidiary matters occupies more than half the present work. The tense and mood signs are dealt with in Chapters VII-XI of the book. and the results of these chapters are summarised in § 208-0 of Chapter XI.* The space devoted to the consideration of these signs is less than one half of the book, the remainder of the book being devoted to a discussion of the subsidiary questions mentioned in the last article as the outworks and entrenchments of the Dravidian theory.

(a) The supposition that there was a pre-Aryan Dravidian culture is wholly based on the assumption that the words for 'nee', 'peaceth', ginger' etc. in European languages are derived from their Tamil names. This question is dealt

^{*} These sections are missing [Ed.].

with in Chapter II of the book, and the conclusion arrived at there is, that to the extent to which the names of the commercial products of South India are evidences of any civilization they demonstrate the civilization of an Aryan speaking population. (§ 34).

(b) The alleged influence of the Dravidian Languages on Sanskrit vocabulary and grammar is discussed in Chapter

III and the conclusion arrived at there (§ 73) is -

 that the cerebral letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are not due to the influence of the Dravidian Languages some of which retained their alveolars down to historic times and two of which still retain them;

- (2) that the grammatical forms which Sanskrit is supposed to have derived from the Dravidian languages were not evolved by it on Indian soil but were inherited by it from the parent Aryan tongue;
- (3) that the other changes which Sanskrit has undergone on Indian soil are changes incidental to a transition from a synthetic stage to the analytical stage, as in the parallel cases of English, and Modern Persian; and
- (4) that there is therefore no reason to suppose that the Dravidian languages were once spoken throughout India.

In the course of this discussion, we came upon the startling discovery that the final v, l, di, representing respectively the masculine, the feminine, and the neuter, singulars in Dravidian are derived from the Indo-Germanic ut as also the terminations v, ndu, ndu, m, ua, indicating the masculine nominative singulars in various Dravidian dialects; and that the Demonstrative and the interrogative bases av, iv, ud, id, yava, yat, ya have been derived from the Indo-Aryan languages.

(c) In Chapters IV, V, and VI, it is pointed out that the earliest available specimens of Indo-Aryan speech are at least one thousand years older than the earliest specimens of

Dravidian speech, that the vaffefuttu is derived from the Brahmī script (§82) and the Agastya tradition is based on solid fact (§ 92).

The fact that the Dravidian tense and mood signs are derived from Aryan particles and words, though it raises a strong presumption that the two groups of languages must have radical affinities will not appeal so much to the general reader as identity of names for the commonest objects and things. Opportunity has therefore been taken as in §§ 6, 7, 8, 31, 40 and in Chapter VI generally, to illustrate by copious examples, the change through which the old Indo-Aryan words have acquired their present South Indian forms and in §§ 210-13* more than one hundred Dravidian verbal bases mostly of ordinary occurrence have been shown to be derived from Indo-Aryan roots. It will be seen from these that such common words as:—

Substantines:-

talai 'head'; mayir 'hair'; feti 'ear'; mgri 'the forchead'; mükku 'nose'; udadu 'the lip'; väy 'the mouth'; 'pidari' 'the nape of the neck'; kai 'the hand'; adi 'the foot'; üdu 'sheep'; mūdu 'cattle'; mān 'a deer'; eremai 'a buffalo'; kudirai 'a horse'; vēngai 'n tiger'; pāmbu, aravam 'a snake';

nadu "country"; ar 'village';

jugā, prā 'a dove'; rui 'paddy stalks'; ś₹ŋ, kuļundai 'a child'; pēy 'a demon'

Common verbs:-

unda 'walk'; nil 'stand'; ufkār 'sit'; tāngu 'sleep'; tip 'ent'; tāl 'be, live, flourish' adi 'beat'; kādi 'bite'; ali 'destroy'; vettu 'cut'; tongu 'hang'; un 'peel off the skin'; pira 'be born'; para 'fly'; ul 'be'.

^{*} These sections are also missing.

The known history and civilization of South India appears thus to be a history and civilization of Aryan-speaking immigrants from the North and so far no facts have been adduced to make us doubt the statements in the Rāmāyaṇa that Agastya found South India inhabited by cannibals. Archaeology says that when the Aryans penetrated into Southern India, they found the country inhabited by men in the neolithic stage of culture. The South Indian words for 'paddy', 'rice', 'ragi'; for 'plough', 'cattle', buffaloes', and 'sheep'; and for 'boats' and 'rafts' appear to be derived from North Indian names brought by Aryan speaking immigrants.

§218. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE SHOWING A PRE-HISTORIC ARYAN IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTH INDIA.

- (i) It has been shown in Section 93 above that Sir George Grierson divides the Prakritic languages of India into two groups which may conveniently be referred to as the North-Western and the West-Hindi groups and that Tamil contains a very large number of words which show the North-Western characteristics. These are, no doubt, a few cases in which the vowels of Prakritic forms are lengthened as in the West-Hindi group but these may be due to importations from the Hindi area in post-Christian centuries.
- (ii) The language of the Brahmi inscriptions of the second and the third century B. C. recently discovered within the limits of what was of old known as the Pandya kingdom is neither Tamil nor any known Indo-Aryan idiom. It is supposed to be a mixture of Tamil and Prakrit, but much of what is thought to be Tamil in them namely, nādu, ūr, kufupitā, are derived from Indo-Aryan. This shows Indo-Aryan activity in the Pandya country from before the 3rd century B.C. (§ 24).

Attention has already been invited (§ 83) to the presumption which these inscriptions raise, viz. that Tamil as known to us, even the oldest dialect of it had not perhaps come into existence at the time of these inscriptions.

§ 219. ARYAN IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTH INDIA AND THE DARHAN—IN THE HISTO-RIC PERIOD,

Having summarised the results arrived at in this book in regard to the composition and structure of the cultivated Dravidian languages we shall proceed to consider what evidence there is to show that there have emigrated into the Dravidian area large bodies of Aryans and Aryanised immigrants from the North,

We know that throughout the Historic Period of South India—that is, from the beginning of the Christian era and for a few centuries earlier—there has been a steady movement of people into the land of the Dravidians from North India,

The Maurya Period :

The earliest recorded movement is perhaps that of a portion of the Jain community which left Magadha during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, in consequence of a prolonged famine, and emigrated to the Karnata country. There appears to be a tradition that the Tulu country and the adjoining parts were colonised by another migration under the leadership of Tulu, a son of Chandragupta, while the existence of Asoka inscriptions at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri, etc., shows that the Maurya empire had been extended,

^{1.} Introduction to Hoernle's Uvasagadesa.

^{2.} Narrinai by Pandit Narayanasami Aiyar-p. 73 of Agananooru.

regard to the second Ptolemy says "in like manner the parts under Mount Bettige are occupied Brakhmanoi Magol as for as the Batai with this city Brahkme." In regard to this city Bishop Caldwell asks "can this Brahkme be Brahmadesam, an ancient town on the Tamraparni, not far from the Podogai mountain (Mount Bettigo) which I have found referred to in several ancient inscriptions". Others are of opinion that the city and tract should be sought for in the Kanarese country about the upper Kaveri, Even the oldest Tamil works available make reference to Brahman settlements in various parts of the Tamil country, and also to various Jain and Buddhistic settlements. But it is doubtful whether these Brahman settlements and those referred to Prolemy belong to Aryan immigrations during the historic period or to people who settled in the Tamil country in pre-historic times.

APPENDIX I

I am forwarding to your address to-day copies of a paper entitled 'The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian pronouns' which I read at 'The Third All-Lulia Oriental Conference' held at Madras last December.

- 2. I have now been before the public for some years proclaiming that the languages spoken in Southern India in the pre-Aryan period of Indian Hatery could not have been of the Dravidian family comprising Tamil, Malayalam, Kanatese, Tulu, Telugu etc.; that these Dravidian languages are in all their essential characteristics mainly a creation of Arvan and Arvan-speaking immigrants from the North; that whatever were the original languages of Southern India they must have been explaced by the new Dravidian idioms by the beginning of the Christian era except in the case of the names of a few numerals and purhaps, of a varying number of special South Indian products; that from such extensive changes, amounting to practical displacement, we may safely argue that the immigrants, typified by Agastya, must have settled here in large colonies; and that what is known as the Dravidian civilization of the South is merely the civilization of these Indo-Aryan immigrants from the North,
- 3. The following particulars will show why the Dravidian idioms should be regarded as a creation of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the North:—
- (i) There are about our hundred suffices used in the cultivated Dravidian languages for indicating the tenses and modes of verb-forms. Most of these tense and mode signs are of Indo-Aryan origin.
- (ii) The personal terminations of Dravidian finite werbs indicating the number, gender, and person, of the

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agent are also of Aryan origin; as also the prenouns of which these terminations are early forms.

The Dravidian Demenstrative and the Relative-Interrogative prenouns have the same bases as in Indo-Iranian; the number and gender signs of the Dravidian pronouns are corruptions of Aryan terminations. The Dravidian Reflexive pronouns are derived from Sanskrit words used for this purpose in the Vedic dialects. Dravidian pronouns of the First and Second persons have remote Aryan affinities.

- (iii) The basic portion of the Dravidian vocabularies consists largely of words of Indo-Aryan origin though, ewing to the extremely limited character of Tamil and other early Dravidian alphabets, these words have been gressly corrupted and are very difficult of recognition.
- Item (i) above formed the subject of a paper entitled "Tense Signs in Dravidian" which I sent to the Poone Oriental Conference (1919), and a summary thereof was printed in the Genference Proceedings, Volume I, but the paper itself has not, I am sorry to say, yet been published. This delay has enabled me to perfect my theory in many of its details, and I am taking steps to bring out my work soon. Item (iii) and several other important matters have been dealt with in my Readership Lectures delivered last year in the Calcutta University; these lectures will come out soon, I hope. Item (ii) is dealt with in the present p per of which I am sending you copies herewith.
- 4. My views differ from these of all previous scholars because they contented themselves with comparing the Dravidian languages with Classical Sanskrit, and naturally saw no deep scated affinities. When one language is extensively affected by another we should seek for the source of influence not in the artificial language of high literature but in the spoken idiems of the common people. It is

necessary to compare Dravidian idioms with the Vedic dialocts and the Prakrits of pre-Christian conturies, before we can decide the question of Aryo-Dravidian affinities. Such a comparison will irresistibly lead to the conclusions. I have stated above.

APPENDIX 11-A

THE ARYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

 B_T

Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyer, B.A., Madras
The Garrent Dravidion Theory.

The class of words known as Pronouns belong to the most fundamental elements of a language, I propose to bring together in this paper a body of facts which seem toshow unmistakeably that the Demonstrative, the Relative-Interrogative and the Reflexive, pronouns of the Dravidian languages are of Arvan origin , that their Personal pronouns have some Aryan affinities and that most of the gender and number signs in these pronouns are also of Arvan origin. These facts are totally opposed to the assumption made by Western scholars that the Dravidian languages had attained their development long before the arrival of the Arvans in India and to the current Dravidian theory of which that assumption is, as it were, the short anchor. This theory is undergoing a process of evolution and it is not the same now that it was forty or fifty years ago. Bishop Caldwell, who is regarded as the father of Dravidian philology, maintained that the Dravidians were not an autochthonous Indian race but were Turanian immigrants who entered India by the North-West, that the Dravidian languages had become fully developed long before the arrival of the Aryans in India, that these languages had no structural

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relationship with Sank it, that their affinities were mainly Turarian, occasionally Semitic, and that where the affinities were Aryan, these did not come into existence on Indian soil, but belonged to the pre-Aryan period of the pre-historic past when the Indo-Europeans and Turagians were living as one undivided race.

This theory elaborated in great detail in Bishop Galdwell's Comparative Geometr of the Dravidian Larguages (1st Edition 1857, 2nd Edition 1875) found general acceptance at one time, but is dissented from in several important particulars at the present day. As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow in his introduction to the Dravidian languages in Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India (1906), it is now generally recognised that these languages constitute an isolated family in India and that the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India has been a failure. Professor Sten Konow is also of opinion that all attempts to show a closer connection with the Indo-Gremanic family have proved just as futile, and that there is no philological reason to connect the Munda group with the Dravidian.

While it is assumed that the Dravidian languages have remained unaffected in structure by the contiguous Indo-Acyan idioms, most Dravidian scholars hold that these idioms have, by contact with Dravidian languages, undergone important changes not only in their vocabulary but also in phonology, grammar, and syntax; and Professor Sten Konow (Vol. IV of the Linguistic Survey of India) gives a pretty long list of items in which Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan tongues are stated to have undergone changes by imitating Dravidian idioms. The most important item under phonology is the adoption of the cerebral series of letters in Sanskrit, and as these letters are found even in the

APPENDIX II-A

oldest Vedas composed while the Aryan immigrants were still confined to the Panjab it is inferred that these immigrants must have been in contact with the Dravidians from the very beginning and that the Dravidians though confined now to the Dakhan and Southern India, must once have occupied also the West and the North-West of India,

§ 2. The Present Writer's Conclusions

The conclusions which I have arrived at after a detailed examination of the question extending over several years are entirely at variance with the current theory:—

- (i) There are about one hundred suffixes employed in the cultivated Dravidian languages for the purpose of indicating the tenses and modes of verb-forms. I find that most of these suffixes are of Indo-Āryan origin.
- (ii) The personal terminations of Dravidian finite verbs and the pronouns of which these terminations are in many cases early forms are also most of them of Aryan origin.
- (iii) The basic portion of the Dravidian vocabularies consists largely of words of Indo-Āryan origin though, owing to the extremely limited character of Tamil and other early Dravidian alphabets, these words have been greatly corrupted and are very difficult of recognition. These conclusions clearly indicate that what are known as Dravidian languages are in all their present essential features a creation of Āryan and Āryanised immigrants from the North, Further, the existence in the Tamil language of words and forms which are met with in the Vedas and in the Avestic language but have disappeared from the post-Vedic Indo-Āryan tongues, would seem to show that these immigrants must have separated from the main body of Indo-Āryans in the North-West in pre-historic times—in the pro-Vedic or

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even pre-Vedic period. It also follows from the above that the tradition about Agastya's immigration to the south is not a more myth, and that what is known as the Dravidian civilization of the South is morely the civilization of these Aryan and Aryanised immigrants.

The above conclusions are tantamount to a total negation of the current Dravidian theory in all its details and will have no chance of bring listened to by the literary world unless they are presented with all the arguments which I have to urge in their support; a piecemeal treatment of the ourstion in a number of small papers is therefore out of the question. Some of my conclusions formed the subject of a paper entitled "Touse Signs in Dravidian" which I sent to the Poons Oriental Conference, 1919, and a summary thereof was printed in the Conference Proceedings, Volume I, but the paper itself has not yet been published. In my Readership lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in August last, I have dealt with the influences alleged to have been exercised by the Dravidian languages on the Indo-Arvan phonology, grammar and syntax; the conclusion arrived at there is that what are called Dravidian characteristics in Indo-Aryan phonology and inflexional system are really Indo-Arvan characteristics in Dravidian, and that in this matter many Dravidian scholars have mistaken the reflection for the original and the original for the reflection. In the course of those lectures I have had to deal exhaustively with the gender-distinguishing pronouns of the Dravidian languages. For the sake of completeness I am dealing with all Dravidian pronouns in the pressent paper but my treatment of the general-distinguishing class will be as brief as possible consistently with perspicuity.

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§3 (1)—Summary.

We shall now summarise the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

(a) Demonstrative. The Dravidian demonstrative bases may be arranged in the following order of importance as determined by wideness of use.—av, iv, ad, id, ay, im, am, um, ud, uv. The circumstance that u appears in the Tamil forms as yayar, and iven, and that v and m appear as initials in such forms as Telegu vandu, vivdu, etc., and Tulu mer, molu, and molulu, clearly shows that these consonants should not be considered as cophonic. Of the above bases av, im, ad, id, and are common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian, an is common to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. The bases, um, ud, as are Dravidian formations, the initial u arising out of as common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian.

The Dravidian adjectives ā, ā, ē, f are also found in the later Iranian and Indo-Āryan dialects, but used as pronouns.

- (b) Relative-Interrogatives. The same sets of pronouns are used both as relatives and as interrogatives in Dravidian as in many other languages of the world. The chief Dravidian interrogative bases are:— (i) e; (2) even, ênu, ênu; (3) yāva; (4) āy. These are derived respectively from the Indo-Asyan relative bases (1) yad; (2) yāvān, yāvan; (3) yāva; (4) yā. The last two exist as êva, ānu, ē, ā in later Dravidian. The Prakrit relative bases jāva, jā, have given rise to the Dravidian bases dāva, dā. The base ya has also been changed into nē.
- (c) Gender and number signs in demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.
- (i) The signs of the masculine singular are n, ndu.
 (du, du, n ju, τ, m). All these have arisen from imitation of the

terminations of the Indo-Āryan present participle in ant in the masculine singular nominative; the signs ndu. (du. dur) arising from the corobralisation of the nt of these participles which is Indo-Germanic in origin. The termination e in Tulu is imitated from Ardhamāgadhī.

- (ii) The sign of the feminine singular I or lu is derived from nd, the corebralised form of the same Indo-Germanic nt; this nd lost the nasal and the remaining d was converted into I.
- (iii) Two other signs of the feminine singular are di and tti. The former of these is taken from the neuter singular adi 'it'; the later is derived from the Sanskrit stri 'a woman.'
- (iv) The neuter inflexional increment t appears to have been taken over from bharat, the nominative neuter singular of the Indo-Aryan present participle in at.

[Note, The r-forms of the Dravidian demonstrative and interrogative pronouns have throughout this paper been exhibited as derived from the bases av, iv, jār by attaching to these number and gender signs arising from the termination out. Most of these forms can also be derived from the Vedic Feast, jāvant and the possible *āvant.]

(d) Reflexious. The so called reflexive base to appears to be identical with the Indo-Aryan demonstrative base to. The pronouns tan, tam, formed from this base were originally, really demonstrative or third personal pronouns. But their oblique forms tan, tam were indistinguishable from two nouns tan, and tam derived later from the Sanskirt tanu body's, tann soul or body's, used as reflexives in Sanskirt. The result is that the pronoun tan has not yet lost all its demonstrative pronoun's although when it is used in reflexive constructions

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the reflexive force is in most case furnished not by itself, but by the added particle & or the reflexive verb kol.

It is a moot point whether the forms tâm, tângel, tamers, tâm, used as honorific pronouns of the second person in various Dravidian dialect, should be derived from the pronoun tam or the noun tam (from them).

- (e) The number signs in personal and reflexive pronouns.
- (i) The plural sign m. There is no doubt that this sign is related to, though not actually derived from, the Dravidian copulative conjunction um which appears mostly in what are literally deandes compounds. It is probable that this um is the same as the Indo-Germanic dual particle u with an inorganic usual attached. The inclusive plural of the first person, viz., non appears to be the same as the Indo-Aryan dual nau.
- (ii) The plural sign kal must have arisen from the plurals, formed with f or lu, of noun stems containing the pleonastic suffix ka.
- (iii) The plural sign f or fu. It is possible that this has arisen from the Indo-Germanic at in the same number as the feminine suffix f or fu.
- (f) The bases of personal pronouns. It is clear that the final n and m of these pronouns are the singular and the plural suffixes. It has been pointed out in § 24 (b) above, that the initial n and m also might not be radical in some cases but might have arisen adventitiously in various ways. If this view is accepted, the primitive bases will be reduced to a, ē, i, or pa, ye, pi. There is nothing corresponding to these in Indo-Iranian, and if the affinities of these bases are Aryan, we have to go back in search of the originals to a period when the Vedic aham and the Iranian azem had not acquired their affixes.

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It will have been clear from what has gone above that pre-historic forms of great antiquity, lost to literature, are often preserved in the submerged popular patois despised by men of culture, and that they crop up again most unexpectedly in modern times. Thus the Indo-Iranian demonstrative ava, obsolescent in the Veda and unknown to later Sanskrit and to the Prakrits, comes to the surface in the modern Indo-Arvan vernaculars in the form o, a; the original form has throughout been preserved in Dravidian. If it is admitted that there was a large immigration of Indo-Aryans into South-India in pre-historic times, we should not be surprised at their speeches preserving Aryan forms not found in the available Iranian and Indo-Aryan literature, But the materials available are not sufficient to justify anything more in regard to the bases of the personal pronouns than the general observations contained in § 24 above.

§ 3 (2) -Conclusion.

The identity of the demonstrative, the relative-interrogative, and the so-called reflexive bases of the Dravidian languages with those to be found in the Indo-Āryan and Iranian languages; the adoption of the Indo-Āryan relative stems in the Dravidian relative-interrogative system; the derivation of the Dravidian masculine, feminine, and neuter, pronominal signs from the endings of the Indo-Āryan present participles in ut; the adoption of the Sanskrit words nau, tanu, and tumm, in the Dravidian pronominal system; to say nothing of the other influences referred to in the course of this paper, such as those of the pleonastic soffix ka and of the dual sign uu; all these clearly indicate that the present Dravidian theory should be totally abandoned.

One thing comes out most clearly from the discussion in this paper; viz., that some knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit and

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of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of pre-Christian conturies is necessary to deal adequately with the questions involved in Dravidian philology.

APPENDIX III

NOTE .- To the foot-note at page 15

The author first propounded his views in a series of lectures delivered in Tamil under the auspices of the Tamilian Education Society, Madras, and they were published in 1922-23 in the Society's magazine The Tamilian's Friend, Vol. VI, as an appendix.

At page 4 of his written out matter, we find a list of words picked out from Caldwell. They are:-

- (a) Ennuppeyarkal : onru, iranțu, münru.
- (b) Sarvandmankal: nān, nī, nām, nīr, avan, aval, avar.
- (e) Uruppuppeyarkal: talai, mayir, śevi, kan, mūkku, vāy, kai, kāl, aţi.
- (d) Vastuppeyarkal: nilam, nīr, tī, vaļi, pūņai, nāy, ādu, maram, kōļi.
- (e) Vinaippeyarkal : nada, nil. iru, va, pô, un, padu.
- (f) Muraippeyarkal: tantai, tāy, āy, anṇaŋ, tampi, tankai, pillai, makaŋ, koluŋaŋ.

See also pages 18 and 19 of this book where some of these words are considered.

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ERRATA

Note.—All those concerned in seeing this scholarly book through the Press regret the errors which are likely to irritate the scholarly readers. Most of them are of the mechanical kind — transposed or missed letters, missing or mis-placed diacritical marks, mis-directed or wrong references. The scholarly reader will spot most of them. The less obvious errors, and some sample errors of the kinds indicated, alone are noted here. We request the readers' forbearance, and hope to be forgiven.

Page	Line	Error	Correction
36	7	Telugu battigo completely, entirely	(should go as the third line)
86	23	RS	(omit)
103	2-3	Eastern and	(omit)
113	19	-11-	To the second
115	21	fear	bear
123	2	woop	wood
123	22	order	border
124	1	crailing	trailing
126	1	might taws	(transpose)
126	last	stores	stones
134	16	come cattan	become cattan
157	3	věrru	verru
157	4	urru	ūlin
157	16	avarritiruntu	avarriliruntu
157	17	then	them
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226	1	soli üllnta	oli śūlnta		
226	2	arikiran o	arikirānō		
226	4	cantali	cantati		
290	12	спац	enku		
290	13	pen	pēn		
292	24	tinniy	tinniya		
292	25	tinti	tinnu		
292	26	raz	razu		
293	19	sounds	sounds respectively		
300	13	petakah	pētakah		
314	4	n akkam	inakkam		
314	10	c am	ctam		
315	11	katyam	kalyam		
315	25	power	powder		
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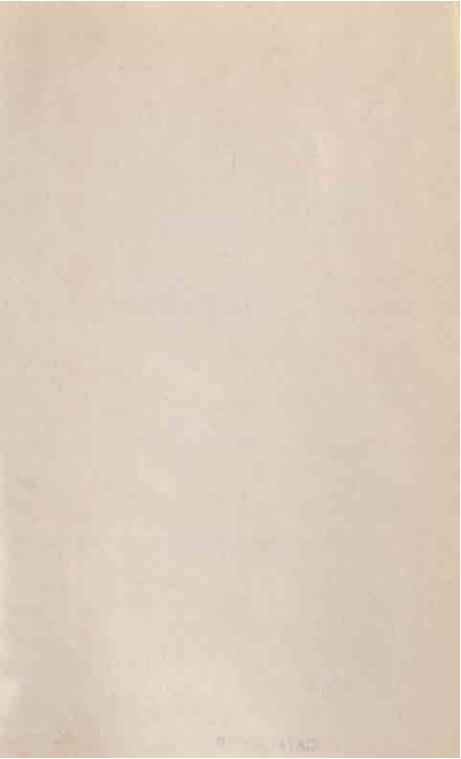
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